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HISTORY OF EUROPE

“BELLUM maxime omnium memorabile, quæ unquam gesta sint, me scripturum ; quod, Hannibale duce, Carthaginienses cum populo Romano gessere. Nam neque validiores opibus ullæ inter se civitates gentesque contulerunt arma, neque his ipsis tantum unquam virium aut roboris fuit : et haud ignotas belli artes inter se, sed expertas, primo Punico conserebant bello : odiis etiam prope majoribus certârunt quam viribus : et adeo varia belli fortuna ancepsque Mars fuit, ut propius periculum fuerint qui vicerunt.”—LIVY, lib. xxi.

HISTORY OF EUROPE

FROM

THE COMMENCEMENT OF

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

TO THE

RESTORATION OF THE BOURBONS

IN MDCCCXV

BY

ARCHIBALD ALISON, L.L.D.

F. R. S. E.

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HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAPTER XCIV.

BATTLE OF WATERLOO.

NEVER was a more melancholy night passed by soldiers than that which followed the halt of the two armies in their respective positions on the evening of the 17th. The whole of that day had been dark and cloudy ; and towards evening the rain fell in torrents, insomuch that, in traversing the road from Quatre Bras to Waterloo, the soldiers were often ankle-deep in water. When the troops arrived at their ground, the passage of the artillery, horse, and waggons, over the drenched surface, had so completely cut it up, that it was generally reduced to a state of mud, interspersed in every hollow with large pools of water. Cheerless and dripping as was the condition of the soldiers who had to lie down for the night in such a situation, it was preferable to that of those battalions who were stationed in the rye-fields, where the grain was for the most part three or four feet high, and soaking wet from top to bottom. The ground occupied by the French troops was not less drenched and uncomfortable. But how melancholy soever may have been their physical situation, not one feeling of despondency pervaded the breasts either of the British or French soldiers. Such was the interest of the moment, the magnitude of the

CHAP.
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1815.

1.
Night be-
fore the
battle.

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XCIV.

1815.

stake at issue, and the intensity of the feelings in either army, that the soldiers were almost insensible to physical suffering.* Every man in both armies was aware that the retreat was stopped, and that a decisive battle would be fought on the following day. The great contest of two-and-twenty years' duration was now to be brought to a final issue: retreat after disaster would be difficult, if not impossible, to the British army, through the narrow defiles of the forest of Soignies. Overthrow was ruin to the French. They had no reserves ready to fall back upon: Paris would be the prize of the conqueror. The two great commanders, who had severally vanquished every other antagonist, were now for the first time to be brought into collision; the conqueror of Europe was to measure swords with the deliverer of Spain.¹

¹ Siborne,
i. 325, 327.

2.
Feelings of
the soldiers
on both
sides.

Nor were sanguine hopes and well-founded grounds of confidence wanting to the troops of either army. The French relied with reason on the extraordinary military talents of their Emperor, on his long and glorious career, and on the almost unbroken series of triumphs which had carried their standards to almost every capital in Continental Europe. Nor had recent disasters weakened this undoubting trust, for the men who now stood side by side were almost all veterans tried in a hundred combats: the English prisons had restored the conquerors of Continental Europe to his standard; and for the first time since the Russian retreat, the soldiers of Austerlitz and Wagram were again assembled round his eagles. The British soldiers had not all the same mutual dependence from tried experience; for a large part of them were second battalions who had never seen a shot fired in war. But

* "Advenisse diem, qui fatum rebus in ævum
Conderet humanis, et quæri, Roma quid esset,
Illo Marte palam est. Sua quisque pericula nescit,
Attonitus majore metu. Quis litora ponto
Obruta, quis summis cernens in montibus æquor,
Ætheraque in terras dejecto sole cadentem,
Tot rerum finem, timeat."

they were not on that account the less confident. They relied on the talent and firmness of their chief, who, they knew, had never been conquered, and whose resources the veterans in their ranks told them would prove equal to any emergency. They looked back with animated pride to the unbroken career of victory which had attended the British arms since they first landed in Portugal, and anticipated the keystone to their arch of fame from the approaching conflict with Napoleon in person. They were sanguine as to the result; but come what might, they were resolute not to be conquered. Never were two armies of such fame, under leaders of such renown, and animated by such heroic feelings, brought into contact in modern Europe, and never were interests so momentous at issue in the strife.

The field of Waterloo, rendered immortal by the battle which was fought on the following day, extends about two miles in length from the old chateau, walled garden, and enclosures of Hougomont on the right, to the extremity of the hamlet of la Haye on the left. The great chaussée from Brussels to Charleroi runs through the centre of the position, which is situated somewhat less than three quarters of a mile to the south of the village of Waterloo, and three hundred yards in front of the farm-house of Mont St Jean. This road, after passing through the centre of the British line, goes through la Belle Alliance and the hamlet of Rossomme, where Napoleon spent the night. The position occupied by the British army followed very nearly the crest of a range of gentle eminences, cutting the high-road at right angles, two hundred yards behind the farm-house of la Haye Sainte, which adjoins the highway, and formed the centre of the position. An unpaved country road ran along this summit, forming nearly the line occupied by the British troops, and which proved of great use, especially in moving the artillery during the course of the battle.¹ Their position had this great advantage, that the infantry

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XCIV.
1815.

3.
Description
of the field
of battle,
and position
of the Eng-
lish.

¹ Personal
observation.
Vaud. iv.
3, 7. Cap. ii.
189. Clause-
witz, viii.
115, 116.
Die Grosse
Chron. iii.
251, 253.

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XCIV.

1815.

could rest on the reverse of the crest of the ridge, in a situation in some measure screened at least from the point-blank fire of the French artillery ; while their own guns on the crest swept the whole slope, or natural glacis, which descended to the valley in their front.

4.
Position of
the French.

Napoleon's troops occupied a corresponding line of ridges, nearly parallel, on the opposite side of the valley, stretching on either side of the hamlet of la Belle Alliance. The summit of these ridges afforded a splendid position for the French artillery to fire upon the English guns ; but their attacking columns, in descending the one hill and mounting the other, would of necessity be exposed to a very severe cannonade from the opposite batteries. The French army had an open country to retreat over in case of disaster ; while the British, if defeated, would in all probability lose a considerable part of their artillery in the defiles of the forest of Soignies. Still even for a retreat, the position had its advantages, for the intricacies of that wood afforded an admirable defensive position for a broken array of foot-soldiers. The French right rested on the village of Planchenoit, which being of considerable extent, and beset with stone enclosures, afforded a very strong defensive position to resist the Prussians, in case they should so far recover from the disaster of the preceding day, as to be able to assume offensive operations and menace the extreme French right. The whole field of battle between the two armies was unenclosed, and the declivities and hollows extremely gentle ; but the rugged hedge of la Haye Sainte, which ran for half a mile to the left of the village of the same name on the crest of the ridge, afforded great support to that part of the British line, and the thick wood which surrounded the orchard and garden of Hougomont was impervious to artillery, and proved of essential service in impeding the attack of the French columns.¹

¹ Personal observation. Cap. ii. 189, 190. Vict. et Conq. xxiv. 201, 202. Vaud. iv. 3, 7. Claus. viii. 117, 119.

Wellington had stationed part of Hill's corps, consisting of seven thousand men, at Hall, six miles on the right,

in order to cover the great road from Mons to Brussels, in which direction he expected the enemy's attack would have been made; and he despatched letters to Louis XVIII. at Ghent, early on the morning of the 18th, recommending him, in the event of the enemy attempting to turn him by that town, to retire to Antwerp. Orders were at the same time sent to the governor of that fortress to open the inundations on the side of the Tête de Flandre, and to the person in charge of the magazines in the rear, to remove them to Antwerp. These precautionary measures, with the long trains of wounded which were brought in from Quatre Bras, and the exaggerated reports of the disaster sustained at Ligny, produced such consternation at Brussels, that all the English who could get away were preparing for departure. The road to Antwerp was already covered with fugitives of all descriptions; and the partisans of Napoleon joyfully looked forward to his entering on the following day. Wellington, however, was resolved to stand firm. His whole army, with the exception of the part of Hill's corps, consisting of Prince Frederick of the Netherlands' corps of Belgians, and Sir Charles Colville's division of British, which were stationed near Hall, was now assembled; and Blucher, with whom he had again communicated during the night, had engaged to support him, as already mentioned, not merely with two corps, as he had requested, but with his whole army. He promised to be on the ground by one o'clock; and his line of march was to be in two columns, by St Lambert and Ohain upon Planchenoit, so as to fall perpendicularly on the French flank after the combat was fully engaged.¹

The morning of the 18th opened with a drizzling rain; but the clouds were lighter than on the preceding day, and the sun occasionally broke in fleeting glimpses through the hazy atmosphere. Eagerly the men in both armies started from their dripping beds; at once they awoke to a rapid consciousness; but numbers were so

CHAP.

XCIV.

1815.

5.

Wellington
resolves to
give battle
in concert
with Blu-
cher.

¹ Wellington to the Duc de Berri, June 18, 1815. Gurw. xii. 477, 478. Gneisenau's Official Account, 204. Near Observer.

6.

Appearance of the two armies on the morning of the battle.

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stiff that it was with difficulty they could rise out of the water in which they had passed the night. But the sight which presented itself when they arose, soon riveted every eye, and moved every heart even in the most unthinking breasts in those vast arrays. Never was a nobler spectacle witnessed than both armies now exhibited; its magnificence struck even the Peninsular and Imperial veterans with a feeling of awe. The troops gazed on each other with respect mingled with surprise. A stern joy was felt in hearts on both sides at the noble aspect of their antagonists.* On the French side, eleven columns deployed simultaneously to take up their ground; like huge serpents clad in glittering scales, they wound slowly over the opposite hills, amidst an incessant clang of trumpets and rolling of drums, from the bands of a hundred and fourteen battalions and a hundred and twelve squadrons, which played the Marseillaise, the "Chant du Départ," the "Veillons au Salut de l'Empire," and other popular French airs. Soon order appeared to arise out of chaos: four of the columns formed the first line, four the second, three the third. The formidable forces of France were seen in splendid array; and the British soldiers contemplated with admiration their noble antagonists :¹—

¹ Cap. Cent
Jours, ii.
189, 190.
Tém. Ocul.
6, 7. Gourg.
75. Siborne,
i. 372.

"A numerous host : in strength each armed band
A legion ; led in fight, yet leader seemed
Each warrior, single as in chief, expert
When to advance or stand, or turn the sway
Of battle : open when, and when to close
The ridges of grim war. No thought of flight,

* Tasso anticipated this feeling in the following noble lines of his "Jerusalem Delivered."

"Bello in sì bella vista anco è l' orrore,
E di mezzo la tema esce il diletto ;
Nè men le trombe orribili canore
Sono agli orecchi lieto e fero oggetto.
Pur il campo fedel, benchè minore,
Par di suon più mirabile e d' aspetto :
E canta in più guerriero e chiaro carme
Ogni sua tromba ; e maggior luce han l' arme."

Gerus. Liber. xx. 30.

None of retreat ; no unbecoming deed
That argued fear. Each on himself relied,
As only in his arm the moment lay
Of victory." *

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Two hundred and fifty guns, stationed along the crest of the ridge in front, with matches lighted and equipments complete, gave an awful presage of the approaching conflict. The infantry in the first and second lines, flanked by dense masses of cavalry, stood in perfect order ; four-and-twenty squadrons of cuirassiers, behind either extremity of the second, were already resplendent in the fitful rays of the sun ; the grenadiers and lancers of the Guard, in the third line, were conspicuous from their brilliant uniforms and dazzling arms ; while in the rear of all, the four-and-twenty battalions of the Guard, dark and massy, occupied each side of the road near la Belle Alliance, as if prepared to terminate the contest. The British army, though little less numerous, did not present so imposing a spectacle to either host, from their being in great part concealed by the swell of the ridge on which they stood. They were drawn up in two lines, but the infantry chiefly in quarter-distance columns, with the cavalry in rear, and artillery in front skilfully disposed along the summit of the ascent. No clang of trumpets or rolling of drums was heard from their ranks ; silently, like the Greeks of old,† the men took up their ground, thinking only of standing by each other, and doing their

7.
Splendid
aspect of
the French
force.

* MILTON, *Paradise Lost*, vi. 230.

† "Thus, by their leaders' care, each martial band
Moves into ranks, and stretches o'er the land ;
With shouts the Trojans, rushing from afar,
Proclaim their motions and provoke the war :
So when inclement winters vex the plain
With piercing frosts, or thick descending rain,
To warmer seas the cranes embodied fly,
With noise and order, through the midway sky ;
To Pigy nations wounds and death they bring,
And all the war descends upon their wing.
But silent, breathing rage, resolved and skilled,
By mutual aids, to fix a doubtful field,
Swift marched the Greeks."—POPE's *Homer*, iii. 1-8.

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duty ; and hardly any sound was heard from the vast array but the rolling of the guns and occasional word of command from the officers. Napoleon had been afraid that the English would retreat during the night, and expressed the utmost joy when their squares appeared in steady array next morning, evidently with the design of giving battle. He anticipated the speedy overthrow of the English oligarchy, and resurrection of France, more great and powerful than ever. "I have them, these English !" said he. "They exceed us by a quarter of their forces : but, nevertheless, nine chances out of ten are in our favour." "Sire," replied Soult, "I know these English : they will die on the ground on which they stand before they lose it."¹

¹ Cap. ii.
189, 191.
Tém. Ocul.
6, 7. Gourg.
75, 76. Nap.
Book ix.
127, 128.

8.
Disposition
and amount
of the troops
on either
side.

The British army on the ground amounted to sixty-seven thousand six hundred men,* of whom twelve thousand five hundred were cavalry ; the French to eighty thousand : † but the superiority of the latter in artillery, and the quality of all the troops, except the British, King's German Legion, and Brunswickers, was still greater. ‡ Napoleon had two hundred and fifty guns,

* Rank and file of the English army that fought at Waterloo, according to Siborne, exclusive of those detached at Hall :—

	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Artillery.	Total.	Guns.
British,	15,181	5,843	2,967	23,991	78
King's German Legion,	3,301	1,991	526	5,838	18
Hanoverians,	10,258	497	465	11,220	12
Brunswickers,	4,586	866	510	5,962	16
Nassau men,	2,880			2,880	
Belgians,	13,402	3,205	1,117	17,724	32
	49,608	12,402	5,645	67,655	156

—SIBORNE, ii. 376.

Siborne makes the effective strength of the French at Waterloo as follows :—

Infantry,	.	.	.	.	48,950
Cavalry,	.	.	.	.	15,765
Artillery,	.	.	.	.	7,732

with 246 guns.—SIBORNE, i. 461.

† See Appendix E, Chap. xciv.

‡ The comparative numbers of the two armies having been the subject of vehement dispute between the British and Continental writers, and being withal a matter upon which it is extremely difficult to arrive at a satisfactory

71,947

Wellington a hundred and fifty-six, of which half were English ; and of the French array no less than fifteen thousand eight hundred were splendid horse. The Allied army was drawn up in the following order :—The right, under Hill, extended behind Hougomont towards Braine la Leude ; the chateau, garden, and wood of Hougomont were strongly occupied by General Byng's brigade of Guards, as was the farm of la Haye Sainte by a battalion of the King's German Legion ; Picton's division, with Perponcher's Belgian division, Best's Hanoverian brigade, and Vivian's and Vandeleur's horse, stood on the left of la Haye Sainte, along the line of the rugged hedge ; Alten's, Cooke's, and Clinton's divisions were in the right wing, with Chassé's Belgians ; the German and Hanoverian brigades of Ompteda and Kilmansegge being in the centre. The cavalry, except Vivian's and Vandeleur's brigades, were all in the second line : Ponsonby on the left, and Somerset, Dornberg, Arentschildt, and Grant, on the right of la Haye Sainte. The reserves consisted of Collaert's Dutch-Belgian cavalry division, the Bruns-

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result, it seems proper to observe that the statement in the text is founded on the following grounds :—

I. The British force is accurately known from the morning state of the very day of the battle ; it amounted on the field, after deducting the troops absent at Hall, to 67,655 men, and, including officers, &c., 69,686.—See Appendix, F, Chap. xciv.

II. The loss of the French official returns after the battle renders it impossible to arrive at the French force otherwise than by approximation. But, taking the data which they themselves have given, it is possible to arrive very near the truth :—

1. Napoleon, in Book ix. *Mém.*, gives the French force which crossed the Sambre, as 122,404 men and 350 guns.

Gourgaud states the loss at Ligny,	
p. 65, at	6,800
at Quatre Bras, p. 1, at	4,140
	<hr/>
	10,940

Grouchy had with him,			
(Fragm. Hist. 27.)	31,370	42,310 men.	98 guns.

Total at Waterloo,	80,094	252 guns.
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III. Napoleon stated in his account of the battle, within two days after it was fought :—" We estimated the force of the English army at 80,000 ; we supposed that the Prussian corps, which might be in line to the right, might

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wick corps under Olfermann, and Lambert's British brigade. The left was uncovered except by a deep ditch impassable for artillery, which, however, proved such an impediment, that no serious attack was made on that extremity. The artillery was arranged along the whole front of the position, and swept the gentle slope which descended from it to the low ground which separated the two armies, wholly unbroken by enclosures or impediments of any kind. Great pains had been taken to separate the Belgian troops from each other, and mingle them in detached bodies through the British and Hanoverians ; for their bad conduct at Quatre Bras had rendered it more than doubtful whether they could be prevented from joining the enemy. The French artillery was in like manner placed along the summit of their ridge in a semi-circular form, directly fronting the British guns, at the distance of from a half to three-quarters of a mile ; and their army was divided into the eleven columns already mentioned. D'Erlon, with the first corps, was on the French right of the chaussée of la Belle Alliance : Reille, with the second, on the left : Jerome's division being on the extreme left, in front of Hougomont. Lobau, with the sixth corps, except one division absent under Grouchy, was in the second line. The cavalry, both light and heavy, was behind the infantry : Milhaud on the right, Subervie and Domont in the centre ; Kellermann on the left. The Guards were in the rear beside the great road. "Never," says Napoleon, "had the troops been animated with such spirit, or taken up their ground with such precision. The earth seemed proud of being trodden by such combatants."¹

¹ Die Grosse Chron. iii. 256. Nap. 132, 135. Vaud. iv. 25, 29. Gur. xii. 481. Kausler, 676, 677. Siborne, i. 461. Claus. viii. 118, 119.

be 15,000. The enemy's force, then, was upwards of 90,000 men—*ours less numerous.*" *Bulletin of Waterloo* ; GOLDSMITH, vii. 301. When it is recollected that this is the language of a defeated general, fresh from the field of battle, it affords the strongest indication that his force was at the very least 80,000 ; and this acquires additional force from the circumstance, that his estimate of the British force (80,000) was, including those detached at Hall, (7000,) who took no part in the action, not very far from correct. See a very able article on Waterloo, in FRASER'S *Magazine*, Nov. 1841, p. 509.

The village clock of Nivelles was striking eleven when the first gun was fired from the French centre, immediately followed by a quick rattle of musketry from the left, as the weighty column commanded by Jerome, six thousand strong, approached the enclosures of Hougomont, which was defended by the light companies of both brigades of the Guards, under Colonel Macdonell and Lord Saltoun, and a Nassau battalion and Hanoverian rifle company in the wood and orchard. Byng's brigade of Guards was in support on the heights behind the buildings. The English light troops fought stoutly in the wood, and, slowly falling back, contested every tree, every bush, every sapling, until the fire became so warm that almost every branch was cut through by numerous, some as many as twenty, shot.* Thirty British guns opened their fire upon the wood; Napoleon immediately advanced Reille's and Kellermann's batteries to reply, and supported Jerome by Foy's division. Gradually, in spite of the utmost efforts of its defenders, the wood around the chateau was carried by the assailants; but the garden and chateau, defended by a high brick wall, in which a double tier of loopholes had been struck out, presented an invincible resistance. Six companies of English Guards, under Colonel Woodford and Lord Saltoun, soon after regained the orchard, which they held for the rest of the day. Napoleon upon this ordered a battery of howitzers to play upon the building, which soon set it on fire; the flames burst forth with unquenchable fury, and the chateau was in part consumed. But the second and third Foot-Guards, under Colonel Woodford and Colonel Hepburn—who were all ultimately introduced into the post, their place in the rear being taken by the Brunswick infantry—with the light companies, under Colonel Macdonell and Lord Saltoun, still held the courtyard and remainder of the building with unconquerable resolution.¹ The first of

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9.

Commence-
ment of the
battle.
Attack on
Hougo-
mont.

¹ Nap. Book
ix. 142,
143. Cap.
ii. 192, 193.
Gourg. 78,
79. Kaus-
ler, 678.
Wellington
to Lord Ba-
thurst,
June 19,
1815. Gur.
xii. 481.
Scott's Nap.
vii. 484.
Claus. viii.
120.

* The author counted twenty-two shot-marks in one tree, not six inches in diameter, at the south-east corner of the orchard, shortly after the battle.

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these brave officers, when a vehement onset had burst open the gate of the courtyard, and a party of the French, great part of whom were in the end slain or taken, had rushed in, actually, by a great exertion of personal strength, drove the survivors out, and closed it in the face of the French bayonets !

10.
Grand at-
tack of
d'Erlon
on the left
centre.

This assault, how vehement soever, was but a feint to conceal the real point of attack, which was in the left centre, and was intrusted to Marshal Ney, with d'Erlon's corps, nineteen thousand strong, who had not at all been yet engaged in the campaign. They were arranged in four massy columns, supported by the fire of eighty pieces of cannon, placed on the opposite heights, which played over their heads as they advanced up the slope on the British side. Already the corps had moved to the front, when the Emperor perceived on his extreme right, in the direction of St Lambert, a dark mass in the openings of the wood. All glasses were immediately turned in that direction—"I think," said Soult, "it is five or six thousand men, probably part of Grouchy's army." Napoleon thought otherwise : he never doubted they were Prussians. Three thousand horse, consisting of Domont's and Subervie's light cavalry divisions, were detached to observe this corps, and an order was soon after dispatched to Grouchy to hasten to the field of action. Meanwhile, the cannonade had grown extremely warm along the whole line ; nearly four hundred guns on the two sides kept up an incessant fire ; the tirailleurs along the front were warmly engaged ; and in the midst of it, Ney received orders to direct his attack on the farm-house of la Haye Sainte, and the line on its left, in order to force back the British left, and interpose between it and the Prussians, who still remained stationary in the wood. It was now noon. Ney pushed forward his batteries to the most advanced heights on his own side of the valley, and his troops in the four columns advanced to the attack.¹ The divisions of Durutte, Alix, and Marcognet, forming

¹ Siborne, ii.
8, 15. Kaus-
ler, 679.
Jom. iv.
634. Nap.
Book ix.
150, 151.
Picton's
Mem. ii.
357. Claus.
viii. 121.

part of d'Erlon's men, were on the right, and moved against the British left, stationed along the hedge of la Haye Sainte ; Donzelot's division, which was very strong, formed the attacking column in the centre, and marched against the farm of the same name ; and powerful bodies of cavalry advanced on the flank or rear of either column, to take advantage of any opening which might be effected.

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Wellington no sooner perceived the formidable attack preparing against his left centre, than he drew up the fine brigade of horse, under Sir William Ponsonby, consisting of the 1st Royals, Scots Greys, and Inniskillens, close in the rear of Picton's division, and placed Vivian's and Vandeleur's light brigades of cavalry on the extreme British left. Ponsonby's brigade of heavy dragoons was stationed behind the hedge of la Haye Sainte, in such a situation as to be concealed from an enemy advancing up the slope in their front. Durutte's division, forming the right column of d'Erlon's corps, commenced the attack by driving the Nassauers from the farm-house of Papelotte ; but the latter, being reinforced, regained the post, which they continued to maintain, and the action on that side degenerated into a sharp fusillade. Meanwhile the other columns of attack moved steadily on against the English line, covered by the tremendous fire of their guns. The brigade of Belgians of Perponcher's division formed the first line of infantry ; they, however, speedily gave way before the enemy were within half musket-shot, at the mere sight of the formidable mass of the French columns. Upon this d'Erlon's men, sustaining with resolution the heavy fire which the British cannon and infantry opened upon their front, still pressed up the slope till they were within twenty yards of the English line. Such was the indignation felt in the British ranks at this conduct of the Belgians, that they could with difficulty be prevented from giving them a volley as they hurried through to the rear. Arrived in front of the red-coats, however, the French, consisting of Alix and Marcog-

11.
Defeat of
that attack.

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net's divisions, halted, and a murderous fire commenced, which soon fearfully thinned the nearest British division, which began to yield. Picton, upon this, ordered Pack's brigade to advance, consisting of the 42d, 44th, 92d, and Royal Scots; and these noble veterans, as on the brow of the Mont Rave at Toulouse, advanced with a loud shout, and poured in so close and well-directed a fire, that the French columns broke and recoiled in disorder. At this instant, the rush of horse was heard, and Ponsonby's brigade, bursting through or leaping over the hedge which had concealed them from the enemy, dashed through the intervals of the infantry, who opened to let them pass, and fell headlong on the wavering column. The shock was irresistible; in a few seconds the whole mass was pierced through, ridden over, and dispersed; the soldiers in despair fell on their faces on the ground and called for quarter. In five minutes two thousand prisoners and two eagles were taken—one by the Greys and the other by the Royals—and the column was utterly destroyed.¹ *

¹ Vaud. iv.
34, 36. Tém.
Ocul. 7, 8.
Kausler,
679. Robin-
son's Pic-
ton, ii. 361,
362. Nap.
ix. 150, 151.
Siborne, ii.
20, 31.
Claus. viii.
122, 123.

12.
Brilliant
charge of
British
horse, under
Ponsonby.

Transported with ardour, the victorious horse, supported by Vandeleur's brigade of light cavalry, consisting of the 11th, 12th, and 16th dragoons on their left, charged on against a second column of d'Erlon's men, which quickly was ridden down, and a thousand more prisoners were taken. The Highland foot-soldiers, vehemently excited, breaking their ranks, and catching hold of the stirrups of the Scots Greys, joined in the charge, shouting "Scotland for ever!"† and collected the prisoners made during the fiery onset. Unsatisfied even by

* On the eagle of the 45th Regiment, taken by Serjeant Ewart of the Greys, were inscribed the words "Jena, Austerlitz, Wagram, Eylau, and Friedland." Ewart was most properly made an officer. He took the eagle after a most desperate struggle.—SIBORNE, ii. 36.

† See Appendix, G, Chap. xciv., where a very curious account is given by Mr James Armour, rough-rider to the Scots Greys, of this memorable charge, in which he bore a most gallant and distinguished part. It was furnished to the author by Mr Armour himself, and few narratives ever bore so clearly the signet-mark of truth.

this second triumph, these gallant horsemen, amidst loud shouts, rode up the opposite height ; and, having reached its summit, turned sharp to the left, and dashed through d'Erlon's batteries, which had sent such a storm of shot through their ranks before the charge began. Taken thus suddenly in flank, the gunners could neither wheel round their pieces nor make any resistance, and they were speedily cut to pieces, the traces cut, and the horses hamstrung or killed.¹

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¹ Vaud. iv.
34, 36. Tém.
Ocul. 7, 8.
Siborne, ii.
35, 41.
Kausler,
679.

13.
Defeat of
the brigade
by the cui-
rassiers.

So forcibly was Napoleon struck by this charge, that he said to Lacoste, the Belgian guide, who stood beside him, "Ces terribles chevaux gris—comme ils travaillent!"* He instantly ordered Jaquenot's light cavalry, consisting of chasseurs and lancers from the second line, to charge the victorious British ; and these fresh troops easily overthrew the English horsemen, now much disordered and entirely blown by their unparalleled efforts, as they were retiring from the theatre of their triumphs. In the hurried retreat to their own position, General Ponsonby was killed, great numbers of his men were cut down or dispersed, and the brigade hardly brought back a fifth of its numbers.† But the lancers in their turn shared the fate of their gallant opponents ; Vandeleur, whose brigade had been retarded in its advance by an unavoidable circuit, fell upon them in flank when streaming in pursuit up the English slope, and drove them back with great slaughter into the hollow. By the help of this timely succour, the heavy brigade, by small detachments, regained their own lines, though grievously weakened.² But never, perhaps, had a charge of an equal body of horse achieved greater success ; for, besides

* Vaud. iv.
34, 36. Jom.
iv. 634, 635.
Nap. Book
ix. 150, 151.
Robinson's
Mem. of
Picton, ii.
361, 362.
Jom. Atlas
Port. 73.
Tém. Ocul.
7, 8. Kaus-
ler, 679.
Personal in-
formation
from officers
engaged.
Siborne, ii.
31, 41. Die
Grosse
Chron. iii.
278, 282.

* Why are these words, with "Blenheim and Waterloo," in both of which battles they took part, not engraven on the helmet of every officer and man in the Scots Greys? They can never have so glorious a motto.—See ALISON'S *Marlborough*, Chap. ii. § 53.

† Great part, however, rejoined their colours next day. The total loss of the brigade, from the 15th to the 19th June, was 613 ; and they were, at the opening of the campaign, 1183 sabres, besides officers—or about 1250 men.—*United Service Journal*, October 1843, p. 290.

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14.
Defeat of
the French
cuirassiers
by Somers-
et's Horse
Guards.

destroying two columns five thousand strong, and taking three thousand prisoners, we have the authority of the great military historian of Napoleon for the fact, that they carried, cut the traces, and rendered useless for the remainder of the day, no less than forty pieces of cannon.*

While this fierce conflict was going on in the British left centre, Napoleon directed a vigorous charge of horse and foot against the centre itself. Heavy columns of horse and foot mounted the slope above la Haye Sainte, and the infantry forming the left column of d'Erlon's corps entirely enveloped la Haye Sainte, and began to advance beyond it towards Wellington's tree. There, however, the British general had ordered the 79th Highlanders, forming the right of Kempt's brigade, with the 28th and 32d, to advance; and these steady veterans cheered loudly, fired, and, moving steadily forward, forced back the column. Then it was that the heroic Picton, as he was waving his troops on with his sword, and had just pronounced the words, "Charge! charge! hurrah!" was pierced through the head with a musket-ball, and fell dead. Kempt immediately took the command. Wellington at this instant ordered a battalion of the German Legion to move up on their right flank, while on their left a Hanoverian one of Kilmansegge's brigade was also advancing upon la Haye Sainte. They were driving the column in disorder down the hill before them, when Milhaud's cuirassiers fell upon the Hanoverian battalion before it could form square, and it was almost destroyed. But Wellington soon had his revenge. He instantly moved forward the heavy brigade of Lord Edward

* "By this charge some battalions were cut to pieces; the *eighty* guns of Ney were seized, or rather the English dragoons, after sabring the drivers, cut the traces and hamstrung the horses, and rendered them totally useless."—JOMINI, *Vie de Napoleon*, iv. 634, 635. I am inclined to think, however, that only forty guns were seized and their traces cut in this charge—which corresponds with Muffling's account, who says the guns rendered useless by this charge were five batteries, or forty pieces.

Somerset, consisting of the Life-Guards, Royal Horse Guards, and 1st Dragoon Guards; and these splendid troops, overflowing with strength, but in the finest order as on the parade ground, led by Lord Anglesea in person, bore down with the utmost vigour on the French cuirassiers, when they too were sounding the charge against the British and shouting *Vive l'Empereur!* The encounter was dreadful: for a few seconds, the shock of horse against horse, the ring of swords on helmets and cuirasses, was heard even above the roar of the cannon.* But at length the vigour and nerve of the English, albeit without armour, prevailed over their steel-clad antagonists. The cuirassiers were fairly ridden over by the weight of man and horse; and a considerable number, driven headlong over a precipice into a gravel-pit, were killed by the fall. Others, trodden under foot, and crushed by the wheels of some artillery and waggons which at the moment were coming up, perished miserably. Somerset's brigade pursued their success down to the foot of the slope, and then regained their position, not without heavy loss from the French batteries.¹

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¹ Kausler, 679. Jom. Atl. Mil. 73. Vaud. iv. 35, 36. Beamish, ii. 355, 366. Jones's Waterloo, 111. Siborne, ii. 15, 20, 31.

During this terrible strife, Wellington remained at his position at the foot of his tree, calmly observing the progress of the enemy, occasionally directing the advance of a line, or the formation of a square, when the circumstances appeared critical. So heavy was the fire of cannon-shot to which he was exposed, that nearly all his suite were in the course of the action killed or wounded by his side; and he was obliged, in the close of the day, to the casual assistance of a Piedmontese officer,† who

15.
Progress of the battle on the British right.

* "D' elmi e scudi percossi, e d' aste infrante
Ne' primi scontri un gran romor s' aggira.
Là giacere un cavallo, e girne errante
Un altro la senza rettor si mira
Que giace un guerrier morto, e qui spirante:
Altri singhiozza e geme, altri sospira.
Fera è la pugna; e quanto più si mesce
E stringe insieme, più s' inaspra e cresce." — *Ger. Lib.* vii. 105.

† Major Count de Sales, afterwards the Sardinian ambassador at Paris.

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stood near, to carry the most necessary orders. "That's good practice," said he, as the cannon-shot struck the branches above his head; "they did not fire so well in Spain." At length, however, all the attacks of infantry in the centre were repulsed; but Napoleon, still persisting in the effort to carry that part of the field, and force the British right centre, brought up his whole light cavalry to the attack, and supported them by the cuirassiers in the second line. Such was the ardour of the French horse, however, and their impatience under the fire of the British guns, that many of the reserve brigades were brought up or advanced without orders, and soon nearly the whole cavalry was engaged. Their attacks were directed on both sides of the great road by la Haye Sainte. The assault continued also fiercely round Hougomont, now entirely surrounded by multitudes of foot and horse, though still held by the Guards and Nassauers, supported by the Brunswick infantry on the heights in their rear. A formidable flank attack was made at this time by Bacheluz with his division, who endeavoured to turn that important post by interposing with his whole force between it and the remainder of the British line which stretched towards la Haye Sainte. It was, however, defeated by the admirably served fire of Captain Cleson's battery of foot-artillery, which literally crushed the head of the French column as often as it came within range.¹

¹ Siborne, ii.
57, 59, 87,
90, 91.
Beamish,
ii. 358.
Vaud. iv.
37.

16.
Lord Anglesea
defeats
an attack on
the British
right.

A heavy column of cavalry shortly after approached the British right centre, which Somerset's brigade, with their reduced numbers, were unable to check. The Marquis of Anglesea upon this put himself at the head of Tripp's Belgian carabineers; but, though headed by that officer with his accustomed gallantry, not a man followed; and they finally fled with such vehemence as wellnigh to sweep away two squadrons of the 3d hussars, King's German Legion, which were advancing in support. The 3d, however, soon recovered their order, and, led by

Anglesea, charged the cuirassiers with such vigour that they broke entirely through them. But being attacked on either flank after their success by fresh regiments of horse, they suffered dreadfully, and were forced to seek refuge behind the squares. So great was the pressure here, that Wellington was obliged to bring up General Chassé's brigade of Dutch troops, and his whole reserve from Brain-la-Leude, where they had been stationed to avoid being outflanked on that side. As they approached, a regiment of Hanoverian cavalry, the Cumberland hussars, a thousand strong, which was ordered to charge the French horse in that quarter, being received by a sharp fire on crossing the ridge, turned about and fled, never drawing bridle till they reached Brussels, where their unexpected entry created the utmost alarm. Adam's light infantry brigade, however, consisting of the 52d, 71st, and 2d and 3d battalions of the 95th, with a brigade of the King's German Legion, and Chassé's Dutchmen in support, stood firm, and, bringing up their right shoulders, with their batteries in front, not only opposed an invincible barrier to the progress of the enemy, but regained the orchard of Hougomont, which had been carried in the earlier part of the day.¹

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¹ Siborne, ii. 91, 94.
Kausler, 680, 681.
Beamish, ii. 358. Vaud. iv. 37, 39.
Jom. Atl. Mil. 173.
Die Grosse Chron. iii. 296, 297.

After this, the British centre continued, for nearly three hours, to be the theatre of the most extraordinary conflict which had occurred during the whole Revolutionary war. Wellington had, after the last charges, withdrawn his cavalry from the active operations of the field, wisely reserving it for the close of the day, and trusting to the fire of the guns in front of his line, and the steadiness of the squares behind, to withstand the enemy's assaults. The French horse, above twelve thousand strong, in part clad in glittering armour, rode up the slope in front of the English line, and, with loud cries and unparalleled enthusiasm, dashed through the guns, and threw themselves on the squares. So vast

17.
Desperate charge of cavalry in the centre.

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was the mass of horse thus brought against the British right centre, that at length seventy-seven squadrons were engaged in the attack, and they filled up the whole open space between la Haye Sainte and Hougomont. The first line was composed of cuirassiers, in burnished steel ; in the second were the red lancers of the Guard, in brilliant uniform ; in the third, the chasseurs of the Guard, in rich furred costume of green and gold, with black bear-skin shakos on their heads. Never had a more sublime military spectacle been witnessed : no force on earth seemed capable of resisting them. Napoleon rode through the lines, both of infantry and cavalry, before they mounted the British slope, and harangued the men before they left his side of the hollow. In doing so he was frequently exposed to danger ; and General Devaux, who commanded the artillery of the Guard, was killed by his side. On no former occasion had the French soldiers been known to exhibit such enthusiasm. To support the grand charge of horse in the centre, Donzelot's division of Ney's corps, in two columns, advanced against Wellington's right centre at la Haye Sainte, while Reille's men assailed Hougomont on the right ; and the whole French guns which could be brought to bear upon the menaced part of the line, a hundred and twenty in number, were pushed as far forward as possible, and sent a storm of shot and shells over the head of the horsemen, through the British squares. These were now all withdrawn, by Wellington's orders, as much as possible behind the reverse slope of the ridge, for the men were fast dropping under the terrible fire of the French batteries, and the guns alone remained in front. The charge of the cavalry on the batteries in the centre was irresistible.¹ Disregarding the terrible fire of the British guns, which, discharging grape and canister point-blank, made frightful chasms in their ranks, the cuirassiers rode slowly forward, carried the guns amidst vehement cries of "*Vive l'Empereur !*" and, dashing on, swept round the

¹ Vaud. iv. 45, 47. Siborne, ii. 65, 66. Cap. ii. 193, 194. Beamish, ii. 359, 361. Kausler, 680. Vict. et Conq. xxiv. 217, 218. Claus. viii. 122. Die Grosse Chron. iii. 298, 299.

squares within pistol-shot, often coming to the very muzzles of the British muskets.

But vain were all attempts to break that heroic infantry, which seemed rooted in the earth. Lying down to avoid the driving shot which swept over the field, the men, in silence, beheld their ranks torn by bombs and ricochet-shot without once moving; but no sooner did the cuirassiers appear, than the whole, instantly starting up, threw in such a volley, that half of the horsemen were stretched on the plain, and the remainder recoiled in disorder out of the frightful strife. The British guns, which stood in front, forty in number, repeatedly fell into the hands of the cavalry, whose valour, always great, was now roused to the most enthusiastic pitch of daring.* The artillerymen took refuge in the nearest squares: the cuirassiers rode round them, anxiously looking for an opening, sometimes with desperate valour striving to make it at the sword's point, until the rolling fire of the infantry repelled the charge; and as soon as the horsemen turned about, the gunners issued forth, quickly re-loaded their pieces, and sent a destructive storm of grape after the retiring squadrons. Then, and not till then, the British cavalry were let loose in pursuit, and hurled the assailing columns in confusion to the bottom of the slope, from whence they themselves were fain soon to regain the shelter of the friendly squares, to shun the onset of the fresh French reserves in the rear. During this unparalleled struggle, several British generals and the Prince of Orange repeatedly threw themselves into the steady squares.¹ "Stand fast, 95th!" said Wellington; "we must not be beaten.

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18.

Their defeat.

¹ Nap. Book
ix. 158, 159.
Tém. Ocul.
134, 135.
Jones's
Battle of
Waterloo,
134. Scott's
Paul's Let-
ters, 147.
Siborne, ii.
76, 85.
Claus. viii.
123.

* By Wellington's orders, the gunners, after discharging their pieces when the cavalry were close upon them, unlimbered the near wheel of each gun, and retired rapidly, rolling the wheel with them, into the nearest square. Speedily the French horsemen came up, and threw ropes prepared for the purpose, like the South American lasso, over the gun; but they could not make it move along on one wheel; and, when striving to drag along their prize, the deadly volley of the square stretched half of those thus engaged on the ground, and sent the rest headlong down the slope.

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19.
Capture of
La Haye
Sainte.

What would they say of us in England?" "Never fear, sir," they replied; "we know our duty."

By the disaster which has been mentioned, Ney had lost great part of his artillery, two of his columns of attack were totally destroyed, and another was repulsed in disorder. Napoleon, however, ere long moved forward the batteries in the rear to his support, the centre columns advanced, and Donzelat's division speedily enveloped la Haye Sainte, and pushed up the slope behind it into the very centre of the British position. The brave Hanoverians of the King's German Legion, who formed its garrison, three hundred and eighty in number, long maintained their ground against the surging multitude. But their ammunition being at length exhausted, and all communication with the British line, of which that farm-house was the advanced post, cut off, the gates were forced open, and in the retreat, which had become unavoidable, to the British line in their rear, great numbers fell, bravely combating to the last. Encouraged by this success, which he thought would prove decisive, Napoleon ordered a renewal of the attack on the British centre and right: Ney's columns pressed on round la Haye Sainte, to pierce the centre of the Allied position, while Reille's corps advanced against Hougomont. But the steadiness of the Allies again repulsed them. The only success they gained was in the centre near la Haye Sainte, where a battalion of Ompteda's brigade of the King's German Legion, having been imprudently ordered by the Prince of Orange to deploy and attack a French column, was charged in flank by a regiment of cuirassiers, and destroyed almost to the last man. Amongst the slain was the gallant Ompteda himself!¹

¹ Siborne, ii. 20, 25, 114, 115. Beamish, ii. 356. Vand. iv. 35. Kausler, 679. Die Grosse Chron. iii. 296.

While this desperate conflict raged in front of Mont St Jean and around la Haye Sainte, Blucher's troops, pressing on with unparalleled ardour, did their utmost to clear the defiles through the forests behind Frischermont;

but such were the difficulties of the passage, owing to the horrible state of the roads, that it was not till half-past four that Bulow, who led the advanced guard, was able to deploy from the woods. Long all their efforts were unavailing. The deep and miry roads between Wayres and St Lambert had caused so many stoppages and breaks, that the column was stretched over miles. The guns often sank axle-deep; and such was the exhaustion of the horses, that they were unable to drag them out. The men, wearied as they were, upon this were harassed; and, as at the passage of the St Bernard, their efforts were stimulated by the sounding of the charge.—“We cannot get on!” they exclaimed. “But you *must* get on,” was the loyal-hearted Blucher’s reply. “I have pledged my word to Wellington, and you will not make me break it. Courage! my children! Yet a few hours’ effort, and you will gain a glorious victory.” This noble conduct in the end met with its reward. The difficulties were, by strenuous efforts, at length overcome. Blucher’s advanced column, headed by Bulow, sixteen thousand strong, then appeared in the rear of the French right, and, marching in echelon, the centre in front, fell perpendicularly on their flank.¹

General Domont, who commanded the cavalry in that quarter, was soon driven back, but he retired in excellent order; and Napoleon, seeing the progress of the Prussians, detached Count Lobau with the two divisions of his corps, the third being absent under Grouchy, amounting to seven thousand infantry, to arrest their advance. Lobau’s men in their turn drove back the Prussians; but Bulow, rallying on his two other divisions, which had now come up, again returned to the charge. The artillery cleared the wood, and arranged themselves on its skirts; sixty Prussian guns opened their fire, and their balls fell on the chaussée of Charleroi, in the very line of the French communications. Planchenoit, the bulwark of the French right flank, was

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20.

Arrival of
Bulow’s
corps at
Planchen-
noit.

¹ Claus. viii.
125, 126.
Rauschnick,
275, 277.
Gourg. 84,
85. Die
Grosse
Chron. iii.
303, 305.

21.

Repulse of
the Prus-
sians by the
Old Guard.

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¹ Claus. viii.
126, 128.
Rauschnick,
Blucher's
Leben, 275,
277. Nap.
Book ix.
154, 155.
Gourg. 84,
85. Kausler,
681. Vict.
et Conq.
xxiv. 218,
219. Beam.
ii. 374, 375.
Cap. ii. 195,
196. Plottho,
iv. 59, 62.
Siborne, ii.
125, 136,
137. Die
Grosse
Chron. iii.
305, 307.

carried. Napoleon upon this detached first Duhesme with two divisions of infantry, and twenty-four guns of the Young Guard, who retook that important post; the Prussians again carried it; and at last Morand, with four battalions of the Old Guard and sixteen guns, was pushed forward to support Lobau and regain the village. These redoubted veterans restored the combat. Planchenoit was recarried; Bulow was driven back into the wood; the balls ceased to fall on the chaussée, and the French flank appeared to be sufficiently secured. At six o'clock, Blucher received despatches from Thielman, that he was attacked by a superior force, and hard pressed at Wavre; but the field-marshal's masterly mind at once perceived that it was at Waterloo, not Wavre, that the contest was to be decided; and, without suffering himself to be a moment distracted, even by disaster in his rear, he continued to urge on every man and gun in the direction of the tremendous cannonade which resounded from Waterloo.¹

22.

New formation by Napoleon, and state of the two armies at the beginning of the last charge.

But although Napoleon's flank was thus protected for the time, yet, as he had intelligence that another corps of Prussians, under Ziethen, was coming up by Ohain on his right, and as, notwithstanding repeated orders sent to him, no advices had been received of Grouchy to oppose these, he resolved to make a grand effort with his Middle and Old Guard, supported by the whole remaining cuirassiers and cavalry, and Reille's and d'Erlon's corps on either flank, against the British centre, in hopes of piercing it through, and destroying Wellington before the bulk of the Prussian forces came up. At the same time he determined, even in the middle of the battle, to undertake the perilous attempt of a new formation of his troops, turning on the pivot of the centre, with the right drawn in part back so as to make head against the new enemy that was approaching. With this view he moved Domont's light cavalry, Lobau's two divisions, and the eleven battalions of the Guard, back from the second line,

and formed them at right-angles to the extremity of the original line of the French army. At the same time he caused Durutte's division of d'Erlon's corps to wheel round upon its left, at right-angles to their former position, and unite with Domont's cavalry and Lobau's infantry, who again communicated with the Imperial Guard at Planchenoit. The French army, by these dispositions, came to form two sides of a right-angled triangle, facing outwards, just as the Russians had done in the latter part of the battle of Eylau. Reille's corps and three of d'Erlon's divisions faced the British: one of d'Erlon's divisions, Domont's light horse, Lobau's two divisions, and eleven battalions of the Guard, faced the Prussians; while the remaining twelve battalions of the Guard were formed into two columns of attack, directed against the British centre, near the chaussée of la Belle Alliance. The cavalry on the heights who saw this movement, and beheld at the same time the retreat of Bulow's corps, now deemed the battle gained, and loudly cheered: it was thought that the final charge of the Old Guard, then arranged as if for immediate action, would, as on all former occasions, decide the victory. This confidence, however, was far from being shared by the French troops actually engaged; some of them retreated without orders, and anxiety and distrust generally prevailed. Nor was Napoleon without disquietude: he had no reserve left except the Guard; and, to Ney's urgent request for more troops, he answered hastily, "Où voulez-vous que j'en prenne? voulez-vous que j'en fasse?"^{1*}

Uneasiness also, in at least an equal degree, prevailed in the British line. Halket's brigade had sustained eleven charges of horse; the two brigades of heavy cavalry had suffered dreadfully; many of the regiments were reduced to mere skeletons; Picton's Highland brigade could not muster six hundred bayonets; multitudes of wounded

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¹ Die Grosse Chron. iii. 306, 307. Gourg. 91, 92. Vaud. iv. 46, 47. Nap. Book ix. Siborne, ii. 136, and 194. Vetter, ii. 323.

23.

Anxiety and hopes in the British line.

* "Where do you suppose I can find them? would you have me make them?"

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had crawled to the rear ; and the waggon-drivers and Belgian fugitives, crowding along the road through the forest of Soignies, spread the report that all was lost. When Vivian's and Vandeleur's brigades of horse, which had not been as yet seriously engaged, were, towards the close of the action, brought from the left to the rear of the right centre, on which the principal weight of the contest had fallen, they were strongly impressed with the wreck and devastation of so many strong corps which there met their eyes. "Where is your brigade?" said the former of these officers to Lord Edward Somerset, who rode up to receive him. "There," replied Lord Edward, pointing to a cluster of horsemen, scarce a hundred in number, who were drawn up still in regular array around three standards. Ponsonby's brigade was reduced to a single squadron ; those two brigades, which went into action two thousand strong, could now hardly muster two hundred sabres.* The infantry in all the British squares still stood firm ; but the diminished fronts, and frequent order "close up !" which was mechanically obeyed as on parade, told how fearfully their ranks were thinned. One general officer was compelled to state that his brigade was reduced to a third of its numbers, and that the survivors were so exhausted with fatigue, that a temporary relief was indispensable : "Tell him," said the Duke, "what he asks is impossible : He and I, and every Englishman on the field, must die on the spot which we now occupy." "Enough," returned the general : "I, and every man under my command, will share his fate."† Wellington, however, though calm, was anxious : all his orders were given with his usual quick decided manner ;¹ but he repeatedly looked at his watch, and expressed afterwards the satisfaction he

¹ Siborne, ii. 145, 146, 158. Gourg, 91, 92. Vaud. iv. 46, 47. Scott's Paul's Letters, 149, 150. Nap. Book ix. 166, 167.

* A large part, however, were wounded, or sent to the rear with the wounded, and rejoined their colours next day.

† He still felt, however, and expressed to all the troops whom he addressed, confidence in the final result. "Hard pounding this, gentlemen," said he ; "but we shall see who will pound the longest."—*Paul's Letters*, 149.

felt as one hour of daylight after another slipped away, and the position was still maintained.

The Imperial Guard, which, after the detachment to Planchenoit, still consisted of eight battalions of the Middle and four of the Old Guard, with the exception of two of the Old Guard which were kept in reserve, was divided into two columns. One was drawn up near the enclosure of Hougomont, supported by cuirassiers, and consisted of four battalions of the Middle and two of the Old Guard. The second, consisting of the four battalions of the Middle Guard, was stationed near la Belle Alliance. They were both directed to converge to the decisive point on the British right centre, about midway between la Haye Sainte and the nearest enclosures of Hougomont. Reille was ordered to bring all his troops to aid this grand attack, and form its left wing, while d'Erlon did the same on the right. The former arranged, accordingly, the whole infantry and cavalry which remained of his corps in columns of attack, and advanced up the hill in a slanting direction, beside the orchard of Hougomont. The second column of the Middle Guard, marshalled by Napoleon, was headed for the attack by Ney in person; and received directions, after moving down the chaussée of Charleroi to the bottom of the descent, to incline to the left, and, leaving la Haye Sainte to the right, mount the slope, also in a slanting direction, converging towards the same point whither the other column was directing its steps.* The artillery of the Guard did not, as in former battles, precede the columns, but took a position on either flank of the heights from which they descended, and opened a dreadful fire on the British batteries. The reason of this was, that in moving up the hill, their fire would have been misdirected over the heads of the

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24.

Prepara-
tions for a
grand attack
of the
Guard.

* The Guard was arranged thus :—" L'Empereur les fit se former ainsi, un bataillon en bataille en ayant deux, en colonnes serrées sur les flancs; formation qui réunissait les avantages de l'ordre mince et de l'ordre profond." —GOURGAUD, 91.

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¹ Gourg. 89,
91. Vaud.
iv. 53, 54.
Nap. ix.
167. Kaus-
ler, 681.
Die Grosse
Chron. iii.
309, 312.

British, and lost. Napoleon went with the second column of the Middle Guard as far as the place where it left the hollow of the high road, and spoke a few words—the last he ever addressed to his soldiers—to each battalion in passing. The men moved on with shouts of *Vive l'Empereur!* so loud as to be heard along the whole British line above the roar of artillery, and it was universally thought the Emperor himself was heading the attack.¹

25.
Wellington's dis-
positions to
receive the
attack.

But, meanwhile, Wellington had not been idle. Hill, who commanded the British right, gradually brought up all his troops into action, or close in the rear of the columns engaged. Sir Frederick Adam's brigade, and General Maitland's brigade of Guards, with Chassé's Dutch troops, yet fresh, were ordered to wheel to the left, with their guns in front, towards the edge of the ridge; and the whole batteries in that quarter inclined inwards, so as to expose the enemy's columns coming up to a concentric fire. The central point, where the attack seemed likely to fall, was strengthened by nine nine-pounders, under Captain Bolton; sixty pieces in all, including those on the flanks, were brought to bear on the attacking columns of the enemy. The troops on either side of the central battery of nine-pounders were drawn up four deep, in the form of an interior angle; the Guards forming one side, flanked on their left by Halket's brigade, consisting of the 73d, 30th, 33d, and 69th—while Adam's brigade, consisting of the 52d, 71st, and second and third battalions of the 95th, composed the other side on the right towards Hougomont. There were also two Nassau battalions in the first line; while the light cavalry brigades of Vivian and Vandeleur, with Dornberg's dragoons, and the remains of Ponsonby's and Somerset's, were brought up behind the line at the back of la Haye Sainte, and stationed close in the rear, so as to be ready to make the most of any advantage which might occur, or assail the head of the French column if it forced its way through the infantry in front.²

² Vaud. iv.
53, 54.
Kausler,
681. Nap.
Book ix.
167, 168.
Beamish, ii.
375, 376.
Cap. ii.
195, 196.
Gourg. 83,
89. Tém.
Ocul. Jones'
Waterloo,
138. Scott's
Paul's Let-
ters, 157,
158. Vetter,
ii. 324. Die
Grosse
Chron. iii.
310, 311.
Siborne, ii.
167, 168.

Napoleon, according to his usual custom, supported the attack of the Guard by a flank one from other troops ; and they advanced in échelon, Donzelot's division of d'Erlon's corps leading the assault, and the Middle Guard following in succession. The French troops ascended the slope, as usual, with great gallantry, preceded by a cloud of tirailleurs ; and they were met by Ompteda's brigade of the King's German Legion and some Hanoverian and Nassau troops in column, the 95th and 4th regiments and some other British corps being in line. But the Nassau men having evinced some hesitation as the dense column approached, the skeleton remains of the Scots Greys and 3d King's German Legion, with Vivian's brigade, were stationed close in their rear, in order to give a greater appearance of consistence to this part of the line. The British guns, however, placed there were so disabled that they were unable to keep up anything like an effective fire on the enemy ; and, in consequence, the French column pushing forward, covered by a cloud of tirailleurs on either flank, opened so heavy a discharge on the 27th, that in a few minutes half its numbers were struck down ; while their guns opened grape with such effect on Kilmansegge's Hanoverians at a hundred yards' distance, that the square, which still held its ground with great resolution, soon dwindled to a mere clump of men. The Prince of Orange, seeing the danger, gallantly advanced at the head of two Nassau battalions ; but he was struck down by a wound in the shoulder, and the Nassau troops, overwhelmed by the severity of the fire, recoiled in disorder. Wellington then moved up five Brunswick battalions ; but they too were assailed by so fierce a fire from the head of the French column, that they fell back in confusion. Wellington upon this instantly hastened in person to the spot, and by the electrifying influence of his voice and gestures, succeeded in rallying the Germans, who re-formed, and opened so heavy a fire on the French column, that its advance was checked. At the same time

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26.

Donzelot's
attack pre-
ceding that
of the
Guard.

CHAP.
XCIV.

1815.

¹ Siborne,
ii. 152, 160.
Beamish, ii.
376, 390.
Gourg. 90,
91. Vaud.
iv. 55, 57.
Grolm.
Dam. i. 302,
304. Die
Grosse
Chron. iii.
311.

the retreat of the Nassau men was stopped by the 10th hussars ; and, being encouraged by the close line of horse in their rear, they again stood their ground, and resumed their fire. At this instant, the Hanoverians and King's German Legion on the left, led by Kilmansegge, dashed forward in double-quick time, with drums beating ; the Brunswickers again advanced ; the Nassau men caught the generous flame, and, loudly cheered by the hussars who followed in close support, returned to the charge. By their united efforts, Donzelot's column was, after a fierce struggle, forced back, and the Allied line advanced to the ground it had previously occupied on the crest of the ridge.¹

27.
First attack
of the Im-
perial
Guard.

It was a quarter past seven when the first column of the Guard, consisting of four strong battalions of the Middle Guard, which advanced from the Charleroi road, moved forward to the attack. The veterans of Wagram and Austerlitz were there ;* no force on earth seemed capable of resisting them ; they had decided almost every former battle. The sun was low in the heavens when this formidable body began to ascend the slope. The shadow of the mass before its level rays augmented its awful impression. The huge caps of the grenadiers seemed a dark forest, slowly rolling on like "Birnam wood to Dunsinane ;" and though it occasionally rocked under the terrible fire of the English artillery, yet the shock was quickly recovered. The ranks closed as gaps were made ; and through the smoke and fire of the tirailleurs, the sable plumes of the grenadiers were seen unceasingly approaching. The British felt that the decisive moment had arrived ; their honour, their country, was at stake ; a few paces more, and Europe was enslaved. The French were inspired with the utmost confidence. Ney marched at their head : Drouot was beside him, to whom the marshal repeatedly said, they were about to gain a glorious victory.

* No one was admitted into the Guard, Young or Old, until he had served twelve campaigns.

General Friant, who commanded the grenadiers of the Guard, was struck down by Ney's side. The marshal's own horse was shot under him ; but, bravely advancing on foot with his drawn sabre in his hand, he sought death from the enemy's volleys. The impulse of this massy column was at first irresistible. The guns on the sides tore its flank without checking its advance.* The lofty bearskins of the grenadiers, as they crowned the summit of the ridge amidst the smoke, gave them the appearance of giants. Meanwhile the fire of the tirailleurs on the flank of the attacking column was so biting, that many of Adam's gunners were driven from their pieces. The head of the French column had reached the crest of the ridge, and the Imperial Guard came up to within forty paces of the English Foot-Guards, in the very apex of the interior angle in which they were formed ; while the loud roll of the drums, and louder cheers of the men, told that they deemed the victory gained, and Napoleon's throne re-established.¹

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¹ Maxwell, iii. 299.
Siborne, ii. 166, 171.
Vict. et Conq. xxiv. 220.

The British soldiers were lying down in a ditch three feet deep behind the rough road which there goes along the summit of the ridge. "*Up, Guards, and at them!*" cried the Duke, who had repaired to the spot, addressing Maitland, who commanded the Household troops ; and the whole on both sides of the angle into which the French were advancing, springing up, moved forward a few paces, and poured in a volley so close and well directed, that nearly the whole first two ranks of the Imperial Guard fell at once. A rapid and well-sustained fusillade ensued, which the French, crowded in column, in vain strove to answer with effect. The feeble fire of their

28.
Its defeat
by the Eng-
lish Guards.

* "When the Imperial Guard, led by Ney, about half-past seven o'clock, made their appearance from a corn-field in close columns of grand divisions, nearly opposite, and within fifty yards from the muzzles of the guns, orders were given to load with canister-shot, and literally five rounds were fired with this species of shot before they showed the least symptom of retiring. At the twenty-ninth round, their left gave way."—*Letter of an Artillery Officer, given in* MAXWELL, iii. 491.

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¹ Siborne,
ii. 166, 171.
Maxwell's
Life of
Wellington,
iii. 399, 400.
Vict. et
Conq. xxiv.
220, 221.
United
Service
Journal,
Oct. 1843,
p. 289.

29.
Last attack
of the Mid-
dle and Old
Guard.

Atlas,
Plate 107.

leading files was returned by a sustained stream of musketry ; while Adam's artillerymen, who worked their guns with extraordinary rapidity, firing grape and canister within fifty paces on their flank, at length staggered the column, which gave ground, and began to recoil down the slope. The word "Charge !" was now given to the English Guards ; the men, loudly cheering, moved on in double-quick time ; the French, shattered and embarrassed, rolled back in confusion, and, leaving a long train of killed and wounded on their track, sought shelter at the bottom of the slope ; while the British, checking their pursuit when half-way down the slope, again resumed their position behind the crest of the ridge, though in some disorder from the vehemence of their onset.¹

The second column of the Guard, which had been formed near Hougomont, now advanced to the attack, consisting of four battalions of the Middle, and two of the Old Guard ;* in all, four thousand strong, supported by Reille's column, which advanced from the side of Hougomont. The dense body moved up the hill with a slow but steady step. Without taking their muskets from their shoulders, the men, preceded by a cloud of tirailleurs, marched unshrinkingly, and with loud cries of *Vive l'Empereur !* into the cross-fire of the English batteries. For a moment a feeling of anxiety, not of fear, pervaded the British ranks. At the sound of their cheers, which were loud and long, the Belgians of d'Aubrune's brigade, which were posted in the rear of Maitland's men, panic-struck, gave way, and fell back in the utmost confusion on Vandeleur's horse, which were drawn up close behind them. Vandeleur, however, rapidly closed his ranks and hindered them from getting through ; and at that instant Wellington came up and rallied them in person. Soon the effects of his admirable dispositions became conspicu-

* The 1st and 2d battalions of the 4th regiment of chasseurs ; the 1st and 2d battalions of the 4th regiment of grenadiers ; and the 1st and 2d battalions of the 1st regiment of chasseurs.

ous. The discharges of the artillery on the flank of the column were so severe, that the French pushed forward a body of horse in order to silence them ; and in this they partially succeeded. Wellington instantly ordered Cox's squadron of the 23d to descend the hill in the rear of Adam's men, and charge them. Cox first attacked the body of cuirassiers who, though checked by the guns, were again preparing to advance, and routed them. Continuing to advance, he assailed in flank, and was repulsed by a column of infantry directly in rear of the Guard. But the effect of this well-timed movement was very great. The French battalions, now completely uncovered, showed their long flank to Adam's guns, which opened on them a fire so terrible, that the head of the body, constantly pushed on by the mass in rear, for long seemed never to advance, but melted away as it came into the scene of carnage.¹

With dauntless intrepidity, however, the Guard advanced through the storm ; and at length, the mass behind strongly pressing on over the dead and wounded in front, the huge body reached the top of the hill, directly in front of the right of Maitland's brigade, and Bolton's battery, now commanded by Napier, which kept up upon them a dreadful fire of grape and canister. Instantly the Guards advanced to the crest of the ridge ; the French cheered, fired, and moved on. The British in silence threw in a terrible volley, on receiving which the two front ranks of the Imperial Guard went down like grass before the scythe. Wellington at this decisive instant ordered Adam's brigade to advance against the flank of the column ; and soon after directed Vivian with his brigade to descend in the rear of Adam's men, between the Guard and Hougomont, and Vandeleur to follow him. The effect of this attack at once in front and in flank was decisive : Napoleon in his official account ascribed to it the loss of the battle.²* The 52d, led on by Colborne, who had antici-

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¹ United Service Journal, Aug. 1833, p. 311. Beam. ii. 317. Nap. Book ix. 168. Gourg. 90, 91. Siborne, ii. 175.

30.
Its defeat by Adam's brigade.

² Vetter, ii. 324, 325. Die Grosse Chron. iii. 314, 316. Siborne, ii. 175, 177. United Service Journal, Aug. 1833, 311, 316. Beam. ii. 377. Nap. Book ix. 168. Cap. ii. 197, 198. Gourg. 90, 91. Vict. et Conq. xxiv. 217, 218. Vaud. iv. 53, 54. Jones's Waterloo, ii. 61.

* Napoleon says in his despatch, written the day after the battle—" Sur les huit heures et demie, les quatres bataillons de la Moyenne Garde qui avaient

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pated Wellington's orders, swiftly converging inwards, threw in so terrible a volley on their left flank, that the Imperial Guard swerved in disorder to the right. By this brilliant advance of Adam's brigade, the column of the Guard was entirely separated from Reille's, who was moving up in échelon near Hougomont to support it. The broken remains of the former, closely pursued by Adam at the point of the bayonet, were hurled back on the other side, and all rallying was rendered impossible.* The cry "Tout est perdu—la Garde est repoussée!"† arose in the French ranks; and the enormous mass, driven headlong down the hill towards the Charleroi road, carried away in its slanting course d'Erlon's columns, which were on its right flank, and spread disorder through the whole of Napoleon's centre.

31.
Arrival of
another
Prussian
corps, and
general ad-
vance of the
British.

From morning till night on this eventful day, the British squares had stood as if rooted in the earth, enduring every loss and repelling every attack with unparalleled fortitude. But the instant of victory had now arrived; the last hour of Napoleon's empire had struck. At the very moment that the last column of the Middle Guard

été envoyés sur le plateau au-delà de Mont St Jean pour soutenir les cuirassiers, étant gênés par sa mitraille, marchèrent à la bayonnette pour enlever ses batteries. Le jour finissait, *une charge faite sur leur flanc par plusieurs escadrons Anglais* les mirent en désordre; les fuyards repassèrent le ravin, les régiments voisins, qui virent quelques troupes appartenant à la Garde à la débandade, crurent que c'était de la Vieille Garde, et s'ébranlèrent: les cris, 'Tout est perdu—la Garde est repoussée!' se firent entendre: *une terreur panique se répandit tout à-la-fois sur tout le champ de bataille.*"—NAPOLEON, *Bulletin sur la Bataille de Mont St Jean*, 21 Juin 1815: *Moniteur*, 22 Juin; and GOLDSMITH's *Recueil*, vii. 263.

* The loss sustained by the French Guard on this occasion was enormous.—"Au milieu des débris de l'armée Anglo-Hollandaise, entourée par son feu, elle éprouva le même sort que la redoutable et victorieuse colonne Anglaise de Fontenoy. Le Général Mallet, qui conduisait le troisième régiment de chasseurs, les Majors Cardinal, Angelet, Agnès, la plupart des commandants des compagnies, tombèrent morts—presque tous les officiers furent blessés. Sur un millier d'hommes dont se composait le troisième régiment de chasseurs, il en resta plus de sept cent sur le terrain. Le premier bataillon du troisième des grenadiers, les bataillons du quatrième régiment de chasseurs et grenadiers, eurent plus de mille hommes hors de combat. Ces vaillants et malheureux débris se retirèrent avec ordre au pied de la hauteur; ils avaient perdu leur force numérique, mais non leur courage."—*Victoires et Conquêtes*, xxiv. 221.

† "All is lost—the Guard is repulsed."

was recoiling in disorder down the hill, with their flanks reeling under the fire of the Guards and Adam's men, Wellington beheld Blucher's standards in the wood beyond Ohain; and the fire of guns from thence to Frischermont showed that Ziethen had come up, and that the Prussians in great strength, and in good earnest, were now about to take a part in the fight. He instantly ordered a general advance in the formation in which they stood—the British in line, four deep, the Germans and Belgians in column or square; and himself, with his hat in his hand raised high in air, rode to the front and waved on the troops. Like an electric shock, the heart-stirring order was communicated along the line. Confidence immediately revived; wounds and dead comrades were forgotten; one only feeling, that of exultation, filled every breast. The remnants of colours were everywhere raised aloft and waved by joyous hands; trumpets and drums sent forth their heart-stirring sounds; the ranks rapidly filled with the stragglers; such even of the wounded as could walk hurried to the front to share in the glorious triumph. With bounding steps the whole line pressed forward as one man at the command of their chief; and the last rays of the sun glanced on forty thousand men, who, with a shout which caused the very earth to shake, streamed over the summit of the hill.¹

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¹ Siborne, ii.
204, 206.
Vaud, iv. 55,
56, Jones,
ii. 138, 139.
Nap. ix.
168, 169.

The French, who had believed that the British infantry were wholly destroyed, from not having seen them for so long a period on the crest of the ridge, were thunder-struck when they beheld this immense body advance majestically in line, driving before them the last column of the Imperial Guard who had made the attack.* At the same time, Bulow's and Ziethen's corps of Prussians,

32.
Success of
the Prus-
sians.

* "Nous les avons vus, au jour de notre désastre, ces enfants d'Albion formés en bataillons carrés dans la plaine entre le bois de Hougomont et le village de Mont St Jean; la cavalerie qui les appuyait fut taillée en pièces; le feu de leur artillerie fut éteint: la mort était devant eux et dans leurs rangs—la honte derrière. En cette terrible occurrence, les boulets de la Garde Impériale, lancés à brûle-pourpoint, et la cavalerie de la France victorieuse, ne pouvaient pas entamer l'immobile infanterie Britannique—on eût été tenté de croire qu'elle avait

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¹ Siborne, ii.
204, 206.
Nap. ix.
168, 169.
Tém. Ocul.
Jones's
Waterloo,
138, 139.
Vaud. iv.
55, 56, Jom.
iv. 637.
Ney's Ac-
count to
Fouché,
June 26,
1815.
Gneisenau's
Account,
Jones, i.
206.

of whom six-and-thirty thousand had already come up, emerged entirely from the wood, and advanced with a swift step and in the finest order, in the double-necked column then peculiar to their country, to join in the attack. A hundred guns, arranged in the form of an amphitheatre on the skirts of the wood, opened a tremendous fire over their heads, and the balls soon began to fall in the midst of the French army, on the chaussée of la Belle Alliance. Despair now seized upon the French soldiers; they saw at once that all was lost, and horse, foot, and cannon, breaking their ranks, fled tumultuously towards the rear; while the British cavalry, still four thousand strong, poured in every direction down the slope, cutting down those who attempted to resist, and driving before them the mass of fugitives who strove to keep their ranks.¹

33.
Attack on,
and rout of,
the reserve
of the Old
Guard.

Still, however, the Old Guard stood firm; for the two battalions of that far-famed body forming the rear of the last attacking column, had not reached the terrible fire which had proved fatal to those in their front, and, instead of moving in disorder to the right before Adam's men, had detached themselves and retired in good order to their comrades in the rear. The two battalions also, which, as already mentioned, had been left in reserve, in perfect array of squares, fresh and unscathed, supported by a strong body of cuirassiers on either flank, with artillery in the interstices, presented not only a formidable body to cover the rallying of the Middle Guard, but formed the head of a column which might have succeeded, like that of Desaix at Marengo, in restoring the battle, and converting incipient defeat into ultimate victory. But now the effects of Wellington's admirable foresight, in having marched forward Vivian and Vandeleur's

pris racine dans la terre, si les bataillons ne s'étaient ébranlés majestueusement quelques minutes après le coucher du soleil, alors que l'arrivée de l'armée Prussienne apprit à Wellington que, grâce au nombre, grâce à la force d'inertie et pour prix d'avoir su ranger des braves gens en bataille, il venait de remporter la victoire la plus décisive de notre âge.—Foy, i. 323, 324.

brigades at the time of the advance of Adam's infantry on the flank of the Middle Guard, became conspicuous. Vivian reached the bottom of the hollow at the time when the second column of the Guard was recoiling in disorder down the hill ; and Napoleon, after rallying in person the broken battalions of the Middle Guard who had constituted the first column of attack, which he formed in three squares, on a height commanding the Charleroi road, pushed forward the only remaining light horse at his disposal to check the brigade ; but they were quickly overthrown. Upon this the dauntless cuirassiers advanced and formed in line in front and on flank of the Old Guard ; but, wearied with their previous efforts, and discouraged by the repulse of the Middle Guard, they were in no condition to withstand the vehement onset of the British hussars.¹

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¹ Crisis of Waterloo, United Service Journal, Sept. 1833, part ii. 311, 314. Gourg. 92, 93. Moniteur, 21st June 1815. Napoleon's Official Account. Die Grosse Chron. iii. 315, 316. Grolman Damitz, i. 366. Vetter, ii. 324.

Vivian charged in échelons of regiments, the 10th, headed by himself, leading ; and, with that regiment, he dispersed and drove in the cavalry posted in the front and on the left of the squares of the Old Guard. No sooner was this done, than that gallant officer, galloping to his left, led on the 18th also in person against the cavalry of de Lorte, which was on the right of that veteran body, the 1st German Legion following. In a few minutes, the dazzling helmets of the cuirassiers and spears of the lancers were seen scattered in disorder, and flying in every direction. At the same time, the 2d King's German Legion, which Wellington had moved up to support Vivian, successfully charged a body of cuirassiers on the right of the 10th ; and though this corps was in its turn assailed by fresh cuirassiers, and thrown into disorder, it quickly rallied, and soon drove the French horse off that part of the field. The squares of the Guard were by this laid bare, and the artillery in the intervals opened a heavy fire on the British horse ; but Vivian, dashing on, captured the guns, twenty-four in number, before any foot-soldier on his left arrived ; and at this

34.
Immense effect of this advance.

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¹ Siborne, ii.
207, 209,
230. United
Serv. Journ.
Sept. 1833,
311, 314.
Gourg. 92,
93. Napo-
leon, Bulle-
tin, Moni-
teur, June
21, 1815.

moment, seeing the Osnaburg red-coats coming up, he ventured to attack the squares. Such was the vehemence of the men, that a squadron of the 10th re-formed after taking the artillery, and charged one of the squares with unparalleled vehemence. That attack, however, after a short struggle, was repulsed by the steady fire of these veteran grenadiers. The square, nevertheless, fell back after the shock, still keeping up a rolling fire on its opponents, who never ceased to cut at them till they were lost in the reflux crowd of fugitives. About this time, Vandeleur's brigade, coming up, charged upon Vivian's right, defeated a body of French infantry who were formed in square, and endeavouring to restore the battle in that quarter. They captured a battery of guns, which was the last that maintained the cannonade on the French left; and then, pushing on rather in advance of Vivian, headed the pursuit.^{1*}

35.
Defeat of
the Old
Guard by
Adam's bri-
gade and
the Osnab-
burg bat-
talion.

Meanwhile Wellington, who led the advance of the infantry, galloped to the head of Adam's brigade, which was moving on four deep in line, pursuing the broken remains of the second column of the Middle Guard, which had now swerved to the hollow on the French left of the chaussée of Charleroi. At the same time, the Osnaburg Hanoverian battalion of landwehr, under Colonel Halket, which had closely followed the unbroken column of the two battalions of the Old Guard who had joined in the last attack, and were now retiring in good order towards the Charleroi road, came up with these undaunted anta-

* Gourgaud ascribes the loss of the battle to this happy charge of Vivian's brigade on the flank of the Old Guard, after the repulse of the Middle. "Le soleil," says Gourgaud, the Emperor's aide-de-camp, "était couché—rien n'était désespéré, lorsque deux brigades de cavalerie ennemie, qui n'avaient pas encore donné, pénétrèrent entre la Haie Sainte et le corps du Général Reille. Elles auraient pu être arrêtées par les huit carrés de la Garde: mais, voyant le grand désordre qui régnait à la droite, elles les tournèrent. *Ces trois mille chevaux empêchèrent tout ralliement*; l'Empereur ordonna à ses quatre escadrons de service de les charger—ces escadrons étaient trop peu nombreux: il aurait fallu toute la division de cavalerie de réserve de la Garde: et par un malheur qui tenait à la fatalité de ce jour, cette division de deux mille grenadiers

gonists. The English general, who observed the confusion of the body of fugitives which was crowding off to the rear, around the rallied squares of the Middle Guard, and the beautiful order in which Vivian's brigade was advancing on his left, ordered Adam's brigade to attack them. "Go on, Colborne," said his Grace—"go on : they won't stand : don't give them time to rally." On approaching the Guard, they were received with a heavy fire from its veteran ranks, and the shot flew fast round the Duke. "This is no place for you," said Sir Colin Campbell, who observed the danger of the English general ; "you had better move."—"I will," replied the Duke, "when I have seen those fellows off." This soon happened. The Guard, impressed with the steady advance of Adam's brigade, moved to the rear, but now slowly and in good order ; while the column opposed to the Osnaburg battalion also retired. A battery of six guns having severely galled the flank of this battalion as it advanced in pursuit of the Old Guard, a rush was made upon them by the flank company, by whom they were quickly carried. About the same time, the main body of the English line, which was still considerably in rear, came up to the front of the original French position, where the guns whose execution had been so severely felt by the Allies were placed. In the general confusion they could not be drawn off ; their horses had almost all been killed or hamstrung during Ponsonby's charge ; and soon loud shouts from the left announced that the whole of d'Erlon's batteries had fallen into the hands of the British !¹

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¹ Siborne, ii.
195, 211.
United
Serv. Journ.
Sept. 1833,
311, 314.
Napoleon's
Official
Account,
21st June
1815. Moni-
teur.

à cheval et dragons, tous gens d'élite, s'étaient engagés sur le plateau sans l'ordre de l'Empereur. Il n'y eut plus, alors, aucun moyen de rallier les troupes ; les quatre escadrons culbutés, la confusion ne fit qu'augmenter."—GOURGAUD, *Campagne de 1815*, 92, 93.

In the preceding account of the repulse of the Imperial Guard at Waterloo, I have, in addition to the authorities quoted in the margin, availed myself of the information of three gallant officers who combated at the spot : Colonel Warington of the 10th hussars, who was engaged in the charges on the Old Guard, Captain Ross of the 73d, the fire of whose company, with that of the Guards, brought down their leading files ; and Captain Wilson of the artillery, who was with the nine guns in the apex of the triangle directly in their front.

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36.
Flight of
Napoleon
from the
field, and
final over-
throw of
the Old
Guard.

Napoleon witnessed this terrible reverse with feelings which it is impossible to describe; but he still preserved his calm demeanour, till the Old Guard recoiled in disorder, with the British cavalry mingled with their bayonets. He then became as pale as death, and observed to the guide, "*Ils sont mêlés ensemble.*"* There was not a moment, however, to lose; for the English horsemen, sweeping up the French side of the slope in great masses, already threatened to envelop him on either flank; and the rapid advance of Bulow, who had now carried Planchenoit, after a violent struggle, would very soon cut off his retreat. He instantly ordered the four squadrons in attendance on his person to charge the British horse, who were thundering in close pursuit; but they were quickly overthrown; and being driven back on the squares of the Guard, who were now in full retreat, augmented the general confusion. The Emperor then ascended a small elevation, and there himself directed the fire of four pieces of cannon, which were worked to the last, and one of the discharges of which carried off Lord Uxbridge's leg, while he was close by Wellington's side. The rapid approach of the English and Prussians, however, soon rendered this post untenable. Napoleon then placed himself in front of the "*Grenadiers à cheval*," one of the steadiest regiments of his Guard; and that noble regiment, impressed with its charge, continued to retreat leisurely at a foot's pace, without breaking its ranks amidst the frightful confusion, till the Emperor was beyond the reach of danger. Turning then to Bertrand, he said, "*Tout à présent est fini! Sauvons-nous;*"† and setting spurs to his horse, fled across the fields in great haste, attended only by a few followers. The Emperor was already several miles from the field of battle, when the Guard, still in that extremity reluctant to flee, formed themselves in squares, and strove to stem the tide of disorder. It was then that the celebrated

* "They are mingled together."

† "All is now over: let us save ourselves."

words are said to have been used by some of their number when called on to surrender, "The Guard dies, but never surrenders!" But it was all in vain. The British cavalry, led by Vivian and Vandeleur, who now headed the pursuit, charged upon their flanks; Adam and Halket continued steadily advancing upon them; the mass of fugitives overwhelmed their front, and prevented their firing. In a few minutes they were pierced through in every direction, cut down or made prisoners, with their generals, Duhesme, Lobau, and Cambronne. After the Guard was broken, all resistance ceased. Vandeleur's horse, which headed the pursuit, and which had attacked and carried the last French battery that fired on the left, now became so enveloped in the torrent of fugitives, that they were swept along beyond their comrades into the middle of the French army, while their arms, weary with striking, could hardly wield their sabres.¹

Meanwhile a desperate conflict was raging in and around Planchenoit, where Bulow's left wing, aided by part of Pirch's corps, was assailing the steady battalions of Morand's Old Guards, which still held that important post. The church and churchyard were strongly occupied by these noble veterans, who, by the rapidity and precision of their fire, long held at bay the superior masses of the Prussians, who, stimulated alike by past defeat and present victory, poured in on all sides to complete their destruction. Every attack in front was successfully repelled; and it was not till the increasing number of their assailants enabled them to press them at the same time on both flanks, that the Old Guard, still in good order, began to retire. The chasseurs, under General Pelet, covered the retreat; and, though dreadfully thinned by the fire which fell upon them from all sides, still presented an unbroken front to the enemy. On quitting the enclosures of Planchenoit, this band of heroes, now reduced to two hundred and fifty men, found itself surrounded by large masses of Prussian infantry and cavalry,² who had

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¹ Siborne, ii. 234, 237. Gourg. 94, 97. Beam. ii. 378, 379. United Serv. Journ. Oct. 1833, p. 147. Gur. xi. 482, 483. Nap. Book ix. 171, 172. Vaud. iv. 55, 59. Die Grosse Chron. iii. 334, 336.

37. Planchenoit is carried by the Prussians, after a desperate resistance by the Old Guard.

² Claus. viii. 126, 129. Grosse Chron. iii. 316, 317. Siborne, ii. 237, 243. Prussian Official Account, Grosse Chron. iii. 316.

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very nearly penetrated to the eagle, in the centre of their ranks. Then Pelet, who commanded, halted his men upon a little rising ground, and called out—"A moi, chasseurs ! Sauvons l'Aigle, ou mourons autour d'elle."* The men quickly formed round their undaunted leader, and, closing their ranks, succeeded, with levelled bayonets, in making their way with their eagle untouched, through their enemies, and reached the main line of retreat, though not a fourth part survived the glorious conflict.

36;
Final wreck
of the
French
army.

Blucher now, assembling all his superior officers, gave orders to send the last horse and the last man in pursuit of the enemy. The whole French army became one mass of inextricable confusion. The chaussée was like the scene of an immense shipwreck, covered with a vast mass of cannon, caissons, carriages, baggage, arms, and articles of every kind. All the efforts of the Guard to stem the flight, or arrest the progress of the victors, were fruitless. They were swept away by the torrent which streamed in resistless force over the whole plain. Never had such a rout been witnessed in modern war. Wellington rode constantly with the advanced posts, regardless of the balls, from friends and foes, which were falling around them. When urged by some of the officers in attendance not to expose himself so much, he replied, "Never mind, let them fire away : the battle's gained !" A noble sentiment, coming from such a man at such a moment. Before the pursuit ceased, a little beyond la Belle Alliance, from the inability of the British, through absolute exhaustion, to continue it, a hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, three hundred and fifty caissons, and six thousand prisoners, had been captured ; and of the vast French army, that morning so brilliant, not two companies were to be found together.¹

Blucher and Wellington, by a singular chance, met near a hamlet called the Maison du Roi beyond la Belle Alliance, on the road leading to Genappe, and mutually

* "Hither, chasseurs ! Let us save the eagle, or die round it."

¹ Grosse Chron. iii. 321, 323. Vaud. iv. 55, 59. Gourg. 96, 97. Nap. Book ix. 171, 172. Wellington's Official Despatch. Gurw. xi. 482, 483. Kausler, 682. Jom. iv. 637, 638. Claus. viii. 129.

saluted each other as victors. After cordially shaking hands, the English general represented to the Prussian that his men were so exhausted with fighting the whole day, that they were hardly able to continue the pursuit. "Leave that to me," replied Blücher; "I will send every man and horse after the enemy." And in effect Ziethen continued the pursuit without intermission during the whole night. Seven times the wearied French, ready to drop down, tried to form bivouacs; seven times they were roused by the dreadful sound of the Prussian trumpet, and obliged to continue their flight without intermission.* Such was their fatigue that the greater part of the foot-soldiers threw away their arms; and the cavalry, utterly dispersing, rode every man for his life across the country. The dejection was universal and extreme. At Genappe some resistance was attempted, and a brisk fire of musketry was kept up for a few minutes from behind a barricade of overturned cannon and carriages. But a few shots from the Prussian horse-artillery soon dispersed the enemy, and the town was taken amidst loud cheers, and with it Napoleon's travelling carriage, private papers, hat, and sword. It was in a field near Quatre Bras that the Emperor first drew bridle, and rested for a few minutes to take a slight refreshment, the only one that he had tasted since the morning. Immediately remounting, he rode all night, and reached Charleroi at six in the morning. The fugitives were already pouring over the bridges, and after stopping an hour he resumed his flight to Philipville. The torrent—horse, foot, and artillery all intermingled—continued to defile over the bridge at Charleroi during the whole day; but scarcely forty thousand passed the Sambre, and they carried with them only twenty-seven guns. The whole remainder of their artillery fell into the hands of the English on the field of battle, or of the Prussians in the pursuit.¹

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39.
Meeting of
Wellington
and Blücher. Total
rout of the
French.

¹ Grolman
Damitz, i.
318. Gneise-
nau's Ac-
count, 206,
207. Jones's
Waterloo.
Nap. 174,
177. Gourc.
112, 113.
Plötho, iv.
162, 170.
Die Grosse
Chron. iii.
321, 322.

* "Die Franzosen so aus sieben bivouacs nacheinander aufgejagt wurden."
—GROLMAN DAMITZ, i. 328.

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40.Loss of the
Allies at
Waterloo.

“Such,” said Napoleon, “was the battle of Mount St John : glorious to the French arms, yet how fatal !” The loss of the Allies in it was immense. That of the British, King’s German Legion, and Hanoverians alone amounted to ten thousand, of whom two thousand and twenty-three were killed. The loss at Waterloo alone, on the part of the whole troops engaged, was above twenty-two thousand.* The field of battle next day presented a scene of matchless horror, exceeding even that immortalised in the Iliad :—

“In dust the vanquished and the victor lies,
With copious slaughter all the fields are red,
And heaped with growing mountains of the dead.
So fought each host, with thirst of glory fired,
And crowds on crowds triumphantly expired.”

POPE’S *Homer*, iv. 627.

The total loss of Wellington’s army, from the 15th to the 19th, was twenty thousand two hundred and ninety, including that of the Belgian and German auxiliaries, but exclusive of the Prussians, who lost seven thousand more at Waterloo alone. The magnitude of the chasms in his ranks, on this occasion, excited the most mournful feelings in the breast of the English general, and obliterated for a time all exultation at his triumph.† The Prussian loss on the 16th and 18th,‡ including the action

* Viz :—	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.
British,	1,417	4,923	582	6,892
King’s German Legion,	362	1,009	218	1,589
Hanoverians, . .	294	1,098	210	1,602
Brunswickers, . .	154	456	50	660
Nassau,	254	389		643
Belgians,	466	2,054	1,627	3,994
Total,	2,947	9,829	2,687	15,380
Prussian loss, . .	1,255	4,387	1,386	6,998
Grand total Allied armies,	4,172	14,216	4,093	22,378

SIBORNE, ii. 502, 519 ; and *Die Grosse Chron.* iii. 337.

† “I cannot express to you the regret and sorrow with which I look around me and contemplate the loss I have sustained, particularly in your brother, (Sir Thomas Gordon.) The glory resulting from such actions, so dearly bought, is no consolation to me, and I cannot suggest it as any to you, and to his friends.”—WELLINGTON to LORD ABERDEEN, 19th June 1815 ; GURWOOD, xii. 488.

‡ The loss of the Belgians during this short campaign was very severe—it amounted to 4038 men, killed and wounded ; and the Brunswickers lost in the

at Wavre on the latter of these days, was thirty-three thousand one hundred and twenty. Of the French army, it is sufficient to say that it was weakened on the field by at least forty thousand at Waterloo alone ; but, in effect, it was totally destroyed, and scarcely any of the men who fought there ever again appeared in arms. After they had passed the Sambre and regained their own country, the troops became utterly desperate ; the infantry dispersing in the villages, the cavalry and artillery selling their horses, and making the best of their way to their respective homes.¹

While this terrible battle was raging at Waterloo, Marshal Grouchy, with his corps, was actively engaged with Thielman in the neighbourhood of Wavre. Napoleon's orders, verbally communicated to that marshal when he received the command, were to follow the Prussians, to attack them, and never lose sight of them. In pursuance of these orders, Grouchy, who had reached Gembloux on the evening of the 17th, early on the morning of the 18th began to press upon the rearguard of Thielman's corps, which was opposed to him ; and, after an obstinate resistance, the Prussians were driven back in the direction of Wavre. At noon, the cannonade at Waterloo was distinctly heard in Grouchy's army : Count Gerard strongly urged the marshal to abandon the pursuit of the Prussians, and move towards Waterloo, where it was evident the decisive struggle was going forward. But Grouchy was too well aware of the implicit obedience to orders which the Emperor exacted, to adopt these suggestions ; and he had just received instructions from Soult, dated ten o'clock

same period 1505 men. The total loss of Wellington's army during the campaign from the 15th to the 19th June was as follows, giving a clear proof upon whom the weight of the contest fell :—

	Officers.	Men.	Total.
British and King's German Legion,	729 .	11,339 .	12,068
Hanoverians,	117 .	1,919 .	2,036
Belgians,	144 .	3,894 .	4,038
Brunswickers,	59 .	1,446 .	1,505
Nassau,	24 .	619 .	643
	<hr/> 1073	<hr/> 19,217	<hr/> 20,290

—PLOTHO, iv. 78, 79, App.; and *Die Grosse Chron.* iii. 335, 337.

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1 Wellington to Lord Bathurst, June 19, 1815. Gur. xii. 483, 485. Kausler, 683. Ploto, App. 97, 98. Siborne, ii. 352, and 519.

41.
Action of Grouchy at Wavre.

Atlas,
Plate 108.

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¹ Rausch-
nick, 278,
279. Si-
borne, ii.
137, 285,
289. Claus.
viii. 131,
136. Die
Grosse
Chron. iii.
340, 345.
Ploto, iv.
72, 73.

42.
Gallant de-
fence of
Wavre by
Thielman.

on the 18th of June, *to continue* his movement on Wavre.* He persisted, accordingly, implicitly to obey his orders, and continued the attack on Wavre, where Thielman's corps was posted on the left bank of the Dyle, occupying both the town of that name and the bridges of Bierge and Limale, till seven o'clock, when a second despatch from Soult, dated one o'clock afternoon, enjoined him to manœuvre on St Lambert, where Bulow's columns had begun to appear.† He immediately did so. Vandamme at the head of his corps continued the assault on Wavre and Bierge without success; but Pajol, with his light cavalry, followed by Gerard's corps, amounting to more than twelve thousand men, forced the passage of the Dyle at the bridge of Limale, won the opposite heights after severe fighting, repulsed the rearguard of Ziethen, and turned Thielman's right flank, as they had been directed.¹

The defence of Wavre by Thielman, on this occasion, was one of the most skilful and glorious events of the war, fruitful as it was in heroic deeds on both sides. The Prussian force, in consequence of the losses sustained at Ligny, and of six battalions and a battery by a mistake of their commanders having followed the march of the other corps of the Prussians, and not appeared at all on the

* "The Emperor desires me to inform you that at this moment he is about to attack the English army, which has taken a position in front of the forest of Soignies. His Majesty *desires that you should direct your movements upon Wavre*, in order to approach us, and conduct our operations in concert, driving before you all the Prussian corps who have taken that direction, or who might stop at Wavre, where you should endeavour to arrive as soon as possible."—SOULT to GROUCHY, 18th June 1815, *ten o'clock*; GROUCHY, p. 21.

† Even in this second despatch, however, dated from the field of Waterloo, he was so far from disapproving of Grouchy's movement on Wavre hitherto, that he *expressly approved it*, and only enjoined him for the first time a direction towards Waterloo.

"Vous avez écrit ce matin à deux heures que vous marcheriez sur Sort, à Wallam, donc votre projet était de vous porter à Corbaix ou à Wavre; ce mouvement est conforme aux dispositions qui vous ont été communiquées. Cependant l'Empereur m'ordonne de vous dire que vous devez toujours manœuvrer dans notre direction: c'est à vous de voir le point où nous sommes pour vous régler en conséquence, et pour lier nos communications, ainsi que pour être toujours en mesure pour tomber sur quelques troupes ennemies qui chercheront à inquiéter notre droit."—*Du champ de bataille de Waterloo, le 18, à une heure après midi.*—GROUCHY, p. 24; and SIBORNE, i. 400.

field till the contest was over at night, was only fifteen thousand two hundred, and they were assailed by above thirty thousand French. The contest began with a violent cannonade across the Dyle, which was kept up with great spirit on both sides for above an hour, when an attempt was made on the Prussian left to force the bridges of Wavre. Vandamme, who was under Grouchy's orders, devoted his whole corps to this assault, and he was opposed only by four Prussian battalions; but such was their skill and resolution, that they repulsed during the day no less than *thirteen* different assaults by such immensely superior forces. The way in which they did this was very peculiar, and highly interesting. The streets of Wavre lay parallel to the river, and at right angles to those leading up from the bridges. The advanced guard of the Prussians was placed in the houses in front, next the river, and, though driven from the lower, continued to fight with desperate bravery in the upper stories. The reserves were arranged under cover in the cross streets. Whenever the French columns made their way across through the fire from the houses, these reserves suddenly rushed forward from their covers, and, while those farthest back stopped the advance of the front, the others opened such a fire on the flank of the column, as always drove it back with heavy loss across the bridges. After fighting in this manner from four o'clock till midnight, the bridges were still in the hands of the Prussians, and the contending troops lay on the opposite banks.¹

¹ Grolman
Damitz, i.
351, 352.
Siborne, ii.
285, 289,
290, 291.
Claus, viii.
133, 137.
Die Grosse
Chron. iii.
356, 361.
Plotho, iv.
75, 76.

On the following morning, Thielman, who had now heard of the glorious victory on the preceding day, attacked Grouchy at daybreak, but was vigorously repulsed; and Grouchy was preparing to follow up his success and march upon Brussels, when the fatal news arrived of the rout at Waterloo on the preceding day, with orders from the Emperor for Grouchy to retreat upon Namur, and effect a junction there with the remainder of the army. He faithfully obeyed his instructions, and

43.
Combat of
the 19th,
and retreat
of Grouchy.

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fell back instantly on Namur, which town he reached upon the 20th, having had a narrow escape from being intercepted by Pirch's corps. This corps had been detached by Blucher from the field of Waterloo on the night of the 18th, to turn his left flank, and cut him off from the Sambre; and he only failed in doing so, from an injudicious halt he made on the 19th at Millory. As it was, Pirch arrived at Namur just as the rearguard of Grouchy was leaving that town. But the French rearguard, consisting of Teste's division, though driven from the fortified suburb, yet made good the ramparts with the most determined courage, until the main body had defiled over the bridge across the Sambre, and finally withdrew in safety. From this Grouchy marched without farther interruption by Dinant and Rheims to Soissons, where his troops rejoined the main body of the French army with thirty-two thousand men and a hundred and eight guns in excellent order on the 26th, having more than repaired his losses by the stragglers whom he picked up during the retreat. It augments the admiration which all must feel at the noble conduct of Marshal Blucher and General Gneisenau on the eventful day of Waterloo, that when they adopted the resolution to unite their whole force, except Thielman's corps, to bear on the decisive point at Waterloo, they were aware of the difficulties in which that general was involved at Wavre. They resolved, however, with equal spirit and generalship, to sacrifice all minor objects, and even endanger their communications, in order to achieve the destruction of Napoleon's great army at Waterloo.¹

¹ Rauschnick, 278, 279, 304. Siborne, ii. 137. Nap. 179, 180. Gourgaud, 118, 119. Grouchy, 53, 54. Die Grosse Chron. iii. 367, 368. Plötho, iv. 79, 80. Grolman Damitz, i. 363, 364.

44.
Reflections
on the cam-
paign of
Waterloo.

The campaign of Waterloo having been the immediate cause of the overthrow of Napoleon, it has been made, as may well be believed, the subject of unbounded discussion and criticism, both on the Continent and in Great Britain, and equally on the part of the Allied writers as the French. The latter have, as was very natural, strained

every nerve to palliate their defeat, partly by exaggerating the forces of their opponents, partly by diminishing their own, and partly by misrepresenting the nature of Marshal Grouchy's operations, and unduly magnifying the effect which would have followed from his having disobeyed his orders, and come up to the field of battle before the conclusion of the fight. The Allied military historians, on the other hand, and particularly the Prussians, have perhaps endeavoured to claim for themselves a larger share than was really due to them in the honours of the conflict, and to underrate what should in fairness be ascribed to the unconquerable firmness of the British troops. The English writers also have not been a whit behind their Continental brethren in exaggeration; and, by seeking to ascribe everything to their own countrymen, and somewhat unduly keeping out of view the necessary effect of the Prussian co-operation, have gone far to make the Continental readers distrust what really is authentic and undoubted in the exploits of the British troops on that glorious day. A few observations, couched in the spirit, so far as attainable, of historic impartiality, will, it is hoped, tend at least to show where the truth really lies amidst these conflicting statements.

I. In the first place, it is evident, whatever the English writers may say to the contrary, that both Blucher and the Duke of Wellington were unexpectedly assailed by Napoleon's invasion of Belgium on the 15th of June; and that he gained in the outset a great, and what had wellnigh proved a decisive, advantage, by that circumstance. It has been already seen, from the Duke's despatches, that on the 9th of June—that is, six days before the invasion took place—he was aware that Napoleon was collecting a great force on the frontier, and he, of course, could not doubt but that hostilities might soon be expected; and that successive intelligence was transmitted daily, down to the night of the 14th, that an attack might daily, and at last hourly, be expected.¹

45.
Wellington
and Blucher
were taken
unawares in
the outset
of the cam-
paign.

¹ *Ante*, ch.
xciii. § 41.

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Had he and Blucher not been misled by false information, or waiting for intelligence on which they could more implicitly rely, the two armies would immediately have been concentrated, and placed in such a situation that they might mutually, if attacked, lend each other the necessary assistance. Their united force was fully one hundred and ninety thousand effective men ; while Napoleon's was not more than one hundred and twenty-five, or, at the utmost, one hundred and thirty thousand. They never would, if aware of the pending invasion, have allowed Blucher to be attacked unawares and isolated at Ligny, whilst deprived of the aid of one of his corps ; and have suffered three divisions of British infantry, unsupported by either any adequate cavalry or artillery, to be exposed to the onset of a superior force of French, composed of all the three arms, at Quatre Bras.

46.
Answer to
the objec-
tion to this.

II. It is in vain to say that they could not provide for their troops if they had been concentrated, and that it was necessary to watch every road which led to Brussels. Men do not eat more when drawn together, than when scattered over a hundred miles of country ; and although it is much more troublesome to collect provisions for them in the former situation than in the latter, yet that is no sufficient reason for keeping them in cantonments in presence of a powerful and concentrated enemy. Marlborough and Eugene had long ago maintained armies of one hundred thousand men for successive entire campaigns in Flanders ; and Blucher and Wellington had no difficulty in feeding one hundred and fifty thousand, drawn close together, after the war did commence. Both the Allied generals were too consummate commanders not to know, that it is not by a cordon of troops scattered over seventy-five miles, that the attack of one hundred and twenty-five thousand French, all concentrated, is to be arrested. If the British army had from the first been assembled at Quatre Bras, and Blucher near Ligny, with a hundred and ninety thousand men between them, how could Napoleon

have reached Brussels but by fighting his way through both united, or in close co-operation? Napoleon would never have ventured to pass such a force on any road, however unguarded. In truth, the conduct of the British and Prussian generals on this occasion would be inexplicable, if it were not evidently explained, and therefore the ground of criticism removed, by the deceit practised on them in France, which has already been referred to.*

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III. It is often said that Wellington was obliged to leave his troops scattered in cantonments down to the very moment of attack, because he did not know by which road he was to be attacked; and if he had concentrated his army when the French accumulated their forces in his front, he could not have guarded every part of the frontier intrusted to him, and the enemy might have penetrated unawares to Brussels by some unprotected route. Without stopping to inquire whether a hundred and twenty-five thousand men, with three hundred and fifty guns, can in this manner slip unobserved past two armies mustering between them a hundred and ninety thousand combatants directly in their front, it seems sufficient to observe, that the advance of an enemy into a hostile territory is never so effectually prevented as by a concentrated mass lying on its flank. No experienced general will hazard an advance into an enemy's country, leaving an equal or superior force in a concentrated position on his side or rear. Marlborough's army, in August 1705, occupied the ground on which Blucher fought on the 18th June 1815, and the French were at Soignies and Waterloo, so that he was between them and Paris; but the English general wisely kept his face to them, and

47.
Effect which
would have
resulted
from an
earlier con-
centration
of the Allied
armies.

* How did Kray arrest for six weeks the advance of Moreau in Bavaria in 1800?—By accumulating his army under the cannon of Ulm. How did Dumourier stop the invasion of the Duke of Brunswick in 1792?—By concentrating his army in the camp of Ste Ménéhould.—See *Ante*, Chap. x. § 24; and Chap. xxxi. § 20. How did Berthier bring France to the brink of ruin in 1809, when the Archduke Charles invaded Bavaria?—By scattering his troops over an extent of eighty miles. How did Napoleon set matters to rights?—By instantly concentrating them.—See *Ante*, Chap. lvi. § 25.

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never thought of hazarding an incursion into the French territory. Vendôme, after the battle of Oudenarde, lay in the neighbourhood of Ghent, while Eugene and Marlborough were besieging Lille, on the direct road to Paris ; but his position there effectually protected the French capital from insult. Kray, in 1800, for six weeks arrested the march of Moreau through Bavaria by keeping his army within the walls of Ulm, though the French general repeatedly passed him, and levied contributions to the very frontiers of Austria. Napoleon was not the man to push on to Brussels, if a hundred and ninety thousand Allies had been concentrated at Quatre Bras and Ligny, on the line of his communications. It was the desperate state of his affairs at the close of the campaign of 1814 in France, which alone prompted the march towards St Dizier and the Rhine, leaving Blucher and Schwartzenberg between him and the capital ; and he lost his throne in consequence. He would have had little reason to congratulate himself on his campaign, if he had passed the Allies and occupied Brussels, and they had passed him and taken Paris.

48.
Napoleon
gained the
advantage
at first.

IV. It follows from these considerations that, in the outset of the Waterloo campaign, Napoleon, by the secrecy and rapidity of his movements, gained the advantage of Wellington and Blucher. Being superior by nearly seventy thousand troops to those at the command of the French Emperor, it was their interest never to have fought at a disadvantage, and not to have made a final stand till their two great armies were in a situation mutually to assist and support each other. There seems no reason why this might not have been done by their mutually converging from the frontier, as soon as the invasion commenced, to Waterloo, without abandoning Brussels. This, in truth, was exactly what they *did do* on the 17th, when Wellington retired to Waterloo, and Blucher to near Wavre, which kept them in communication with each other, when both were concentrated and

ready to fight, and produced the decisive success which followed. But even if it had been necessary to evacuate that capital before the union was effected, prudence suggests that it would have been better to have done so, even with all its moral consequences, than to have exposed either army to the chance of serious defeat, in consequence of being singly assailed by greatly superior forces. Nevertheless, Napoleon so managed matters in the outset of the campaign, that, though inferior upon the whole by sixty thousand men to the Allied armies taken together, he was superior to either at the points of attack at Ligny and Quatre Bras. But for the extraordinary circumstance, which was not to be reckoned on, of d'Erlon's corps, twenty-four thousand strong, being marched and countermarched the whole of the 16th without firing a shot either at Quatre Bras or Ligny, he would have gained, on the very first day of the campaign, a victory over both the English and Prussian forces. This is the clearest proof that in the beginning he gained the advantage, and it had wellnigh proved a decisive one, of both his opponents.

V. Napoleon gained this success by the admirable secrecy and rapidity of his movements, which led to the sudden and unforeseen irruption which he made by Charleroi into the heart of his enemy's cantonments ; and his plan of detaching part of his force only against the British on his left, and reserving its weight to assail the Prussians on his right, was undoubtedly judicious. But this advantage was speedily lost, and became the forerunner of disaster, by the unaccountable manner in which he followed it up, by *striking at once* against both the British and Prussians, without any adequate central reserve, on which both wings, on an emergency, might rely. His army on the whole being considerably inferior in number to those of his adversaries united, his evident policy was, to have observed the one party, and struck with the weight of his force against the other. This,

49.
Error of
Napoleon in
striking at
once against
the right
and left.

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accordingly, was what he did in substance on the 18th at Wavre and Waterloo. But on the 16th he commenced an attack in person on Blucher at Ligny with seventy-two thousand men, while he detached Ney with forty-six thousand to occupy Quatre Bras—with instructions, it is true, to make only a brisk attack at that point—and then move on as rapidly as possible against Blucher's rear at Ligny. But the consequences of thus *simultaneously* commencing the offensive with *two wings*, without any centre to support them, were soon apparent. The Emperor, to achieve victory at Ligny, was obliged to summon up half of Ney's force under d'Erlon to menace the Prussian right; while Ney, stubbornly resisted at Quatre Bras, found himself compelled in the evening *to recall* the same corps, before it had fired a shot against the Prussians, to avert entire defeat from the increasing forces of Wellington. It was to this extraordinary circumstance that the loss of the campaign to Napoleon is in a great degree to be ascribed.

50.
For which
he alone is
responsible.

VI. Neither commander was to blame for these contradictory orders, *when the plan was once fixed on*: for Napoleon had need of the countenance of d'Erlon, to support his grand attack on Blucher's centre; and Ney could only avoid defeat at Quatre Bras by the instantaneous return of the very same force to arrest the increasing masses of the English. But the root of the evil lay in the *plan*, which by a natural consequence entailed these evils; for if Ney had been directed only to observe the British, d'Erlon could have operated on Blucher's right as fatally as Blucher himself did on Napoleon's two days after; and if the Prussians had been only observed on the right, Ney would, with double their strength, have with ease crushed the British at Quatre Bras. Either result would have altered the issue of the campaign, and probably of the war; for we have the authority of Napoleon himself for the assertion, that if the British had been defeated, he would have had little

difficulty with the whole remainder of the Allies, who were preparing to invade the French territory.* And herein we have cause to admire both the firmness and wisdom of Wellington, who so soon arrested the advantage which Napoleon's surprise had, in the outset, given him; and, by the tenacity of his resistance at Quatre Bras, at once rendered the vice of that great man's subsequent plan of attack apparent, neutralised his triumph at Ligny, and compensated it by reasserting the old superiority of the British troops against fearful odds in the first conflict of the campaign.

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VII. Neither Napoleon nor Ney exerted their wonted vigour when the attack on the 16th actually took place. Had Napoleon closed up his troops during the night of the 15th, and advanced to the attack of the Prussians at Ligny by five o'clock on the morning of the 16th, (which he could surely have done, seeing that his advanced posts on the evening of the 15th were but from two to three miles distant from Ligny,) he would have found that position occupied by Ziethen's corps alone. Pirch's corps being six miles in the rear at Mazy, where it had bivouacked, and Thielman's fifteen miles in the rear at Namur, he might then have overwhelmed Ziethen's and Pirch's corps in detail, and Thielman on coming up would have shared the same fate. Instead of this, he did not advance towards Fleurus until between *eleven and twelve o'clock* on the morning of the 16th, by which time Ziethen's, Pirch's, and Thielman's corps were all concentrated at Ligny, and did not attack them seriously until *nearly three o'clock in the afternoon*, by which time they had leisure to occupy the position fully. So much for Napoleon's movements on the right. Ney on the left committed the same error. Had he assembled his troops

51.
Want of
vigour in
Napoleon
and Ney on
the morning
of the 16th.

* "If the English army had been defeated at Waterloo, what would have availed all the multitude of Russians, Austrians, Prussians, or Spaniards, who were crowding to the Rhine, the Alps, or the Pyrenees?"—NAPOLEON'S *Memoirs*, Book ix. p. 203.

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during the night of the 15th, and attacked early on the morning of the 16th, he would with ease have carried the post of Quatre Bras before the arrival of any of the British reserve from Brussels. Instead of doing so, he did not seriously commence the attack until between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, which gave time for Wellington to bring up the English divisions from Brussels.

52.
What
Napoleon
might have
done on the
17th.

VIII. On the morning of the 17th the whole front of Napoleon was clear of any enemy as far as Gembloux, where the rearguard of the Prussians under Thielman was. On the other hand, Wellington lay at Quatre Bras with his *left flank entirely exposed and uncovered* by the retreat of the Prussians, and he did not withdraw the main body of the troops from this position *until between ten and eleven o'clock A.M.* Napoleon, therefore, might easily have marched at daybreak on the 17th from Ligny, with the Guards and the 6th (Lobau's) corps, who were comparatively fresh, (the former having been only engaged at the termination of the battle of Ligny, the latter, who came up at its close, having never fired a shot,) upon the left flank of the British and the defile of Genappe in their rear. He would have arrived there before them, and might thus have enveloped their left flank and rear, whilst Ney with his two corps (now united) assailed their front. Instead of this, Napoleon did not move at all until nearly noon, when he directed the Guards and 6th corps to assemble at Martois on the road to Quatre Bras, and move from thence upon that point; and they did not reach Quatre Bras until two o'clock in the afternoon, by which time Wellington had withdrawn his whole infantry and artillery in safety through the defile of Genappe, and was in full retreat for Waterloo.¹

¹ Siborne, i.
252, 256,
288, 291.

IX. Blucher acted a gallant and heroic, rather than a prudent part, in giving battle when one of his corps had not yet come up; and when the co-operation of Wellington

was, on that day, from the tardy concentration of his troops, uncertain, if not nearly hopeless. The superiority of the Allies upon the whole was such, that it was their part to trust nothing to chance; and to avoid giving battle till they were in such a state of proximity to each other, as to be able to calculate on success as a matter of certainty. But the veteran field-marshal could not bring himself to do that. His mighty soul recoiled from the idea of retreating before an enemy whom he had so often conquered, after he had collected an equality of force; and he gave battle in consequence, unsupported, with nearly equal numbers, at Ligny. But the result proved, that in so doing, he had miscalculated the relative prowess of the two armies which were now in presence of each other. He was misled by the facility with which, in the former campaigns, the new levies of Prussia had repeatedly overthrown the French forces; forgetting that it was a crowd of dispirited conscripts who were then clustered round the standards of Napoleon; and that it was a very different contest they had now to maintain with the bronzed veterans whom the peace had recently restored to his standards. By resisting as he did, with three-fourths only of his force, and apart from the British, he incurred a great risk for no adequate advantage.

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53.

Observations on
Blucher's
conduct.

X. In justice, however, to the Prussian general, it must be recollected that he gave battle at Ligny in firm reliance on the effective co-operation of Wellington's army, sixty thousand strong at least, in the latter part of the day. He had been promised by Wellington in person, that he would be on the French flank at four o'clock. It was to gain time for their co-operation that he prolonged, with such desperate resolution, the murderous strife in the villages, and all but gave his life to hold his ground. In a word, Blucher did at Ligny, on the 16th, what Wellington did on the 18th at Waterloo; and for the same reason, that he hourly expected a

54.

His excuse.

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decisive attack from a friendly force on the enemy's flank. And this shows how much the English general's delay in concentrating his army, disconcerted in the outset the plan of the campaign. Wellington's orders to collect his troops, issued at half-past seven P.M. from Brussels, on the evening of the 15th, produced sixty thousand combatants of all arms at Quatre Bras at nine A.M. on the morning of the 17th—that is, thirty-eight hours afterwards. Issued at eleven P.M. on the 14th, they would have mustered a similar array at Quatre Bras at one P.M. on the 16th; and he might with an overwhelming force have driven Ney back on the Emperor's communications, and done to Napoleon what Blucher afterwards did by his incomparable cross-march to Planchenoit from Wavre. The campaign would thus have been secured, and Napoleon overthrown in the very first encounter, without risk to either party. And yet—strange destiny of mortals, or their subjection to a higher power!—such a result, how conformable soever to the rules of war, and the dictates of wisdom, could never have produced the decisive results which the course actually followed did—the result of misinformation on the part of one general, and heroic but imprudent valour on the other. Napoleon would merely have been hurled back with defeat into the French territory, and not led to perdition on a path at first strewn with flowers.

55.
Napoleon
was out-
generaled
in the end.

XI. It follows from the same principles, that as clearly as Napoleon gained the advantage of the Allied generals in the outset, they gained the advantage of him in the close of the campaign. His favourite military manœuvre of interposing between his adversaries, and striking with a superior force first on the right hand and then on the left, was now met and conquered by the method of resistance obviously suited to it—viz. the concentric retreat of the two Allied armies into such close proximity that, in the event of a general battle, they could mutually support and assist each other. As

Quatre Bras and Ligny, indeed, were five, and Waterloo and Wavre ten miles distant, the *headquarters* of the two armies were not brought nearer by this movement—rather the reverse, but it *really* was a concentric retreat, because the main bodies of the respective armies were brought much nearer to each other. In the former case the two armies were scattered over a space seventy-five miles broad, in the latter they were brought in concentrated masses within ten miles of each other, and therefore into a situation where they could mutually co-operate in case of attack. Napoleon committed an obvious military error, when, with the Prussian army, repulsed only, but still unbroken, on his flank, he hazarded all on the desperate chance of defeating the British army before its arrival on the ridge of Waterloo. Wellington acted with true military skill when he resolved to give battle in front of the forest of Soignies, with a promise from Blucher that he would assist him by mid-day with his whole army. That was precisely retaliating upon Napoleon the brilliant attack of Ney on the flank of the Allied armies, by which he had gained the battle of Bautzen.¹ In resisting his furious onset, it is hard to say whether we have most cause to admire the ardent spirit and quick determination which prompted Blucher, so soon after his own defeat, to strain every nerve in order to bring up his troops to the decisive point at Waterloo; or the incomparable constancy and unshaken determination which led Wellington, amidst a sea of carnage, to maintain his ground immovable, till the glancing of the Prussian standards announced the assurance of decisive victory. Prudence should have counselled Napoleon to have retreated, rather than incur the desperate hazard of being assailed, either in the moment of victory or defeat, by fifty thousand fresh troops. A just appreciation of the advantages of their situation, equally with their own heroic spirit, prompted Wellington and Blucher to act as they did on this

¹ *Ante*, ch.
lxxv. § 71.

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memorable field. And it is very remarkable that their success would probably have been comparatively incomplete, had it not been for the advantage gained by Napoleon on the 16th over the Prussians at Ligny ; for it was that which led Napoleon to believe that the Prussian army was put entirely *hors de combat*, at least for some days, and that he might with safety, even to the eleventh hour, hurl his whole forces, with almost desperate energy, against the British legions in front of Waterloo.

56.
Admirable
conduct of
Wellington
on the
field.

XII. It is impossible to estimate too highly the military ability of the Duke of Wellington, alike in his selection of the field of battle, in the disposition which he gave to his troops, and the admirable firmness with which he maintained his ground till the promised succour arrived. The slightest inspection of the field of Waterloo must be sufficient to convince every observer, that it was in a singular manner adapted for a great defensive stand—being furnished with a gentle slope along its whole front, which, like a regular glacis, exposed the attacking columns to a fire from the summit every step that they advanced ; having the farm-houses and enclosures of la Haye Sainte and Hougomont, like so many outworks, to retard the enemy's advance ; and the reverse of the hill affording a gentle slope and hollow to the other side, where the troops, invisible to those who stood on the opposite ridge where the French army bivouacked, might be at once in a great measure sheltered from the fire of the enemy's artillery, and at the same time ready to repel the assault of his columns, if, after braving the fire of the British, they reached the summit of the ridge. The forest behind, it is true, presented great, perhaps insurmountable, difficulties to drawing off the artillery and caissons in the event of defeat ; but Wellington had no reason to dread that. Even if worsted on the field, the advance of the Prussians must have rendered it impossible for the Emperor to have followed up his advantage. And we

have the authority of the first military writer in Europe for the assertion, that, even in the view of a defeat, the choice of the field of Waterloo, with the forest in its rear, was in the circumstances judicious.*

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XIII. But the advantages of his position, great as they were, would have been as nothing, without the invincible tenacity, heroic courage, and admirable steadiness with which Wellington maintained his ground against greatly superior forces during the terrible conflict, and gained time, at the moment when the fate of Europe quivered in the balance, for the Prussian corps, led with equal determination, and guided by equal skill, to come up and effect a decisive overthrow. Constancy less immovable, moral courage less unconquerable, would have led to the abandonment of the field when the Prussian troops had not arrived at one o'clock, the hour appointed, and the great superiority of the enemy in effective troops had become apparent; and thus postponed to an indefinite period, perhaps for ever, Napoleon's final destruction. But this constancy would have failed in obtaining its reward, had not the Prussian field-marshal, with equal resolution and discernment, disregarded the danger in his rear at Wavre, and forwarded every man and gun, amidst incredible difficulties, to the field of Waterloo. The annals of war do not afford a more striking, perhaps

57.
Wisdom of
his stub-
born resist-
ance there.

* "Nous avons mis au nombre des qualités requises pour une position celle d'offrir une retraite facile : ceci nous mène à l'examen d'une question soulevée par la bataille de Waterloo. Une armée adossée à une forêt, quand elle aurait un bon chemin derrière le centre et chacune des ailes—serait-elle compromise, comme l'a prétendu Napoléon, si elle venait à perdre la bataille ? Pour moi je crois, au contraire, qu'une pareille position serait plus favorable à une retraite qu'un terrain entièrement découvert ; car l'armée battue ne saurait traverser une plaine sans rester exposée au plus grand danger. Sans doute, si la retraite dégénérât en déroute complète, une partie du canon restée en batterie devant la forêt serait probablement perdue ; mais l'infanterie, la cavalerie, et le surplus de l'artillerie, se retireraient aussi bien qu'à travers une plaine. Si la retraite, au contraire, se fait en ordre, rien ne saurait mieux la protéger qu'une forêt : bien entendu, néanmoins, qu'il existe au moins deux bons chemins derrière la ligne, et qu'aucun mouvement latéral n'ait permis à l'ennemi de devancer l'armée à l'issue de la forêt, ainsi que cela eut lieu à Hohenlinden."—JOMINI, *Art de la Guerre*, 378, 379.

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58.
Compara-
tive merits
of the Eng-
lish and
Prussians
at Water-
loo.

not so striking, an example of the intuitive glance of true military genius, as that which, at the same time, led Wellington to resist, even to the death, in his defensive position, down to the very last moment, and then suddenly hurl his whole troops, with the ocean's mighty sweep, upon the foe ; and Blucher to disregard all lesser objects to co-operate in the decisive attack at this decisive point.

XIV. In considering the comparative shares which the British and Prussian armies had in the achievement of this glorious victory, an impartial judgment must award the highest part to the British troops. When it is recollected that the British soldiers and King's German Legion in the field did not exceed thirty-seven thousand, and that, including the Hanoverians, the whole troops on whom reliance could be placed were only fifty-two thousand, and that they were assailed, for above five hours, by continual attacks from eighty thousand veteran French, under Napoleon's direction, before even Bulow's Prussians arrived in the field at four o'clock, it must be admitted that this day must ever be reckoned as the proudest of the many proud days of English glory. On the other hand, it is equally clear that the arrival of Bulow's corps at that hour, which compelled Napoleon to detach the two divisions of Lobau's corps, and at last eleven battalions of his Young and Old Guard to maintain Planchenoit against them, and consequently withdrew them from the field of battle against the English, went far to diminish the superiority, and bring nearer to an equality the military forces of the contending armies. Had they not appeared in force on the field, as they did at half-past seven at night, it is doubtful if the French army would have been repulsed ; because their last attack—that of the Guard—only was so, shortly before Blucher's standards were seen in the wood issuing from St Lambert, and the Prussians had taken an important part in the action, by drawing off from the fight the two divisions of Lobau and the eleven battalions of the Guard to Planchenoit, by

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Bulow's vigorous attack at four o'clock. The victory, at best, would have been dreadfully hard won, and probably little more than a sterile triumph like that of Talavera, without their co-operation; and possibly the superiority of the French, if there had been no other army in the field, might have enabled Napoleon to compel the British to retreat, by menacing their flank next day, as he did that of the Russians after the terrible fight of Borodino. Indeed, the nearly balanced state of the battle, at the time of the last attack by the Imperial Guard, renders it very doubtful if the English could have maintained their ground if Lobau's two divisions and the eleven battalions of the Guard had, at that decisive moment, been thrown into the scale, and the attacking columns of infantry, as on all former occasions, had been flanked by powerful bodies of cavalry. It was unquestionably the arrival of the Prussians which rendered the success complete, and converted a bloody repulse into a total overthrow; and probably, but for the prospect of their co-operation, Wellington would never, with a force so inferior in military strength, have hazarded so dreadful a conflict. Had he been at the head of seventy-five thousand English troops, or English and German only, he would have needed no such co-operation.

XV. The effect of Grouchy's not coming up, and the circumstances of his share in the campaign, have been made the subject of great exaggeration on the part of the French writers. Without doubt, if two-and-thirty thousand French troops had come upon the flank of the British army, without being followed by any Prussians, they might have exposed them to a defeat as signal as Napoleon himself experienced, from a similar attack being made upon him when exhausted by the fight. But *were* Grouchy's troops in a situation to do this? Was he not opposed to, and nearly matched by, the Prussians under Thielman, whom he combated at Wavre? * Had not

59.
Effect of
Grouchy
not having
come up.

* "Third corps d'armée, Thielman, 33,000 men, 96 guns."—PLOTTO, iv. 55,

CHAP.
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1815.

Grouchy strict orders to watch the Prussian general closely, and in particular to direct his march to Wavre? And what would it have availed the French if the latter had come up to their succour with 32,000, if all Blucher's force, still eighty thousand strong, had in consequence joined Wellington? It is by entirely keeping out of view this important fact of Grouchy being matched at Wavre, and the impossibility of his joining Napoleon without the whole of Blucher's force joining Wellington, that the French have been at all able to elevate into a degree of importance the alleged failure of this marshal to appear in the field at the decisive moment. And whether he did right or wrong in acting as he did, nothing is more certain than that he strictly obeyed his orders, reiterated twice over at ten and one o'clock from the very field of Waterloo; and that, if there was any fault in the case, Napoleon could in justice ascribe it to no one but himself. Even if Grouchy, on the 18th, had directed his march to his left instead of his right, and marched from Gembloux on St Lambert instead of Wavre, as directed, he would have fallen on Blucher while struggling through the defiles of St Lambert, and probably stopped both the advance of the corps of Bulow, which he commanded in person, and that of Thielman. He could not, however, have prevented the corps of Ziethen and Pirch from acting on Napoleon's flank; and their force, still above fifty thousand strong, was amply sufficient to have completed his overthrow. But Grouchy's advance in that direction would probably have retarded their advance, and thus rendered the struggle at the crisis more violent, and the victory less complete, than it actually was.¹

¹ Siborne, i.
318, 324.

Appendix. Thielman was engaged, it is true, at Ligny, but so was Grouchy; and the loss there could not have materially altered their relative proportions. The force which actually fought at Wavre, indeed, was only 15,400; but that, as already noticed, was the consequence of two Prussian brigades and a battery of artillery, forming part of Thielman's corps, having mistaken their way on the 18th, and so taking no part in the combat. This accident, of course, could have been foreseen by neither party.—CLAUSEWITZ, viii. 194.

XVI. Napoleon's tactics, as well as those of Blücher, on the field of Ligny, were almost exclusively confined to vigorous efforts in order to gain possession of the villages which formed the object of strife between the contending parties, and nourishing the assaulting or defending columns with fresh troops, till the last reserves on the Prussian side were exhausted. It was then for the first time that he made a powerful offensive movement in the open ground. The battle of Lützen was nearly of the same description, as was great part of that of Leipsic. It is difficult to believe that there was anything erroneous in the system pursued by such consummate commanders on such important occasions. But yet it deserves the consideration of military men, whether there is not much truth in the observation of a recent learned and able military historian,* that too much importance has been attached to the possession of villages in battles; and that if either party can drive the enemy off the open ground, the troops in the villages will be rendered useless, and in all probability made prisoners. Certain it is that Marlborough gained decisive success at Blenheim by pursuing an entirely opposite system; and, after his first assault on the village of that name had failed, by reason of the great strength of its French garrison, by directing his whole efforts to driving the enemy from the *open* ground between it and the other villages they held, in consequence of which they were enveloped by his victorious battalions, and all the troops they contained, thirteen thousand in number, made prisoners. The truth appears to be, that the attack on villages in a field of battle, as on that of fortified towns in a campaign, is expedient or the reverse according to circumstances. If the parties are nearly matched, and no decisive advantage has been gained on either side, the possession of villages is of great moment, because they form so many *points d'appui*, invaluable in case of local

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1815.

60.

 Napoleon's
tactics in
the battle
of Ligny.

* Colonel Mitchell.—*Life of Napoleon*, iii. 287, 290.

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1815.

disaster to the troops in the open field. But if one party is greatly superior to the other, either in the number or quality of his troops, it is impolitic to waste time or strength in the assault of villages, where the inferiority of the enemy may be less felt than in the open field, when, by driving him from the ground between them, their garrisons may be rendered useless, or surrounded and made prisoners.

61.
Error in his
tactics at
Waterloo.

XVII. The loss of the battle of Waterloo to Napoleon seems to have been mainly owing to the imprudent use he made of nearly his whole cavalry in a desperate strife during the middle of the action, whereby it became, notwithstanding its great numerical strength, so diminished in numbers, depressed in spirit, and worn out by fatigue, that it was unable to oppose any effectual resistance to the incursion of the British horse, in part comparatively fresh, at the close of the day. This is another example of the truth which Napoleon so often repeated, that in battles victory is to the party to whose last reserve the enemy has nothing to oppose. So sensible indeed was Napoleon that his defeat was chiefly owing to this cause, that he said afterwards that the cavalry, in the enthusiasm of the moment, engaged in part *without his orders*. This, however, is not probable, when his imperious character is considered; and it affords another example of what his history so often showed, that he never took blame to himself, if he could, justly or unjustly, lay it on another. On the other hand, it is equally clear that the ultimate success of Wellington was mainly owing to his judicious withdrawal of the cavalry after the important services they had rendered in the early part of the action, and keeping them in reserve, when the enemies' horse were torn in pieces for three hours, during the middle of the strife, by the grape and musketry from the English batteries and squares. Had Napoleon followed a different course: had he husbanded his horse till the close of the action, and then brought up his columns of the Guard,

supported by d'Erlon's and Reille's divisions, and screened on either flank by five thousand of his formidable lancers and cuirassiers, it is difficult to see how it could have been resisted, when it is recollected how nearly such an attack had succeeded without the aid of such flank protection. Both commanders put in practice their favourite modes of action. Napoleon proceeded on the opinion he has so often recorded, that cavalry, if gallantly led, with the aid of artillery, should always be equal to break infantry; and he hazarded them so much, in the belief they would gain his object before the Prussians came up. Wellington, with more reason, as the event proved, rested on the experienced steadiness of the British foot-soldiers, and acted on the conviction that their firmness would repel all the assaults of the enemy till his strength was worn out, and the moment had arrived for converting an obstinate defensive into a vehement offensive operation.

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1815.

Napoleon and Wellington having risen, by the common consent of men, to the highest rank on their respective sides in the great Revolutionary contest; and the awful strife having been finally determined under their guidance on a single field, like that between Rome and Carthage under the banners of Scipio and Hannibal, the attention of men, to the end of the world, will be forcibly drawn to their characters. We know, after the lapse of two thousand years, with what eagerness we yet dwell on those of the Roman and Carthaginian leaders who met at Zama; and we may anticipate with confidence a similar undying interest in the comparison between the British and French heroes who combated at Waterloo. Happy, indeed, if the pen of the historian could keep pace with the greatness of the subject, and the English language would afford the means of painting, in a few touches, with the hand of Livy or Tacitus, the salient points in the minds of those whose deeds are for ever engraven on the records of mankind!

62.
Parallel
between
Napoleon
and Wel-
lington.

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1815.

63.

Their points
of difference.

Napoleon and Wellington were not merely individual characters: they were the types of the powers which they respectively headed in the contest. Napoleon had brighter genius, Wellington superior judgment: the former combated with greater energy, the latter with more perseverance. Rapid in design, instant in execution, the strokes of the French hero fell like the burning thunderbolt: cautious in counsel, yet firm in action, the resources of the British champion multiplied, like the vigour of vegetation, after the withering stroke had fallen. No campaign of Wellington's equals in energy and activity those of Napoleon in Italy and in France: none of Napoleon's approaches in foresight and wisdom that of Wellington at Torres Vedras. The vehemence of the French Emperor would have exhausted, in a single season, the whole resources which, during the war, were at the disposal of the English general; the caution of Wellington would have alienated in the very beginning the troops which overflowed with the passions of the Revolution. Ardour and onset were alike imposed on the former by his situation, and suggested by his disposition: foresight and perseverance were equally dictated to the latter by his necessities, and in unison with his character. The one wielded at pleasure the military resources of the half of Europe, and governed a nation heedless of consequences, covetous of glory, reckless of slaughter: the other led the forces of a people distrustful of its prowess, avaricious of its blood, niggardly in the outset in its expenditure, but, when once roused, invincible in its determination. And the result, both in the general war and final struggle, was in entire conformity with this distinction. Wellington retired in the outset before the fierce assault of the French legions, but he saw them, for the first time since the Revolution, permanently recoil in defeat from the rocks of Torres Vedras: he was at first repeatedly expelled from Spain, but at last he drove the invaders with disgrace across the Pyrenees. He was in the beginning assailed unawares,

and wellnigh overpowered in Flanders ; but in the end he baffled all Napoleon's efforts, and, rising up with the strength of a giant, crushed at once his army and his empire on the field of Waterloo.

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The personal and moral characters of the two chiefs were still more strikingly opposed, and emblematic of the sides they severally led. Both were distinguished by the unwearied perseverance, the steady purpose, the magnanimous soul, which are essential to glorious achievements : both were provident in council, and vigorous in execution : both possessed personal intrepidity in the highest degree : both were indefatigable in activity, and iron in constitution : both enjoyed the rarer qualities of moral courage and fearless determination. But, in other respects, their minds were as opposite as are the poles asunder. Napoleon was covetous of glory, Wellington was impressed with duty : Napoleon was reckless of slaughter, Wellington was sparing of blood : Napoleon was careless of his word, Wellington was inviolate in faith. Treaties were regarded by the former as binding only when expedient—alliances valid only when useful : obligations were regarded by the latter as obligatory, though ruinous—conventions as sacred, even when disgraceful. Napoleon's wasting warfare converted allies into enemies ; Wellington's protecting discipline changed enemies into friends. The former fell, because all Europe rose up against his oppression : the latter triumphed, because his principles were such that all Europe was at last glad to place itself under his guidance. There is not a proclamation of Napoleon to his soldiers, in which glory is not mentioned, nor one in which duty is alluded to : there is not an order of Wellington to his troops in which duty is not inculcated, nor one in which glory is mentioned.

64.
Contrast of
their moral
characters.

The intellectual characters of the two heroes exhibited the same distinctive features as their military career and moral qualities. No man ever surpassed Napoleon in the clearness of his ideas, or the stretch of his glance

65.
Difference
in their in-
tellectual
characters.

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XCIV.

1815.

into the depths of futurity ; but he was often misled by the fervour of his conceptions, and mistook the dazzling brilliancy of genius for the steady light of truth. With less ardour of imagination, less originality of thought, less creative power, Wellington had more justness of judgment, and a far greater capability of discriminating error from truth. The young and the ardent who have life before them, will ever turn to the St Helena memoirs for the views of a mind of the most profound and original cast, on the most important subjects of human thought. The mature and the experienced who have known its vicissitudes, will rest with more confidence on the “Maxims and Opinions” of Wellington, and marvel at the numerous instances in which his instinctive sagacity and prophetic judgment had, in opposition to all around him, beheld the shadow of coming events even amidst the clouds with which he was surrounded. No one can read the speculations of the French Emperor without admiration at the brilliancy of his ideas, and the originality of his conceptions : none can peruse the maxims of the English general, without closing the book at every page to meditate on the wisdom and justice of his opinions. The genius of the former shared in the fire of Homer’s imagination : the mind of the latter exhibited the depth of Bacon’s intellect.

66.

And ruling
principles of
action.

But it was in the prevailing moral principles by which they were regulated, that the distinctive character of their minds was most striking and important. Singleness of heart was the characteristic of the British hero, a sense of duty his ruling principle : ambition pervaded the French conqueror, a thirst for glory was his invariable incentive ; but he veiled it to others, and perhaps to himself, under the name of patriotic spirit. The former proceeded on the belief, that the means, if justifiable, would finally work out the end ; the latter, on the maxim that the end would in every case justify the means. Napoleon placed himself at the head of Europe, and desolated it

for fifteen years with his warfare : Europe, in return for Waterloo, placed Wellington at the head of its armies, and he gave it thirty years of unbroken peace. The former thought only in peace of accumulating the resources of future war : the latter sought only in war the means of securing future peace, and finally sheathing the sword of conquest. The one exhibited the most shining example of splendid talents devoted to temporal ambition and national aggrandisement ; the other, the noblest instance of moral influence directed to exalted purposes and national preservation. The former was in the end led to ruin, while blindly pursuing the meteor of worldly greatness ; the latter was unambitiously conducted to final greatness, while only following the star of public duty. The struggle between them was the same at bottom as that which, anterior to the creation of man, shook the powers of heaven ; and never was such an example of moral government afforded as the final result of their immortal contest. Wellington was a warrior, but he was so only to become a pacificator ; he has shed the blood of man, but it was only to stop the shedding of human blood ; he has borne aloft the sword of conquest, but it was only to plant in its stead the emblems of mercy. He has conquered the love of glory, the last infirmity of noble minds, by the love of peace, the first grace of the Christian character.

“ Pulchrum eminere est inter illustres viros ;
 Consulere patriæ ; parcere afflictis ; ferâ
 Cæde abstinere ; tempus atque iræ dare
 Orbi quietem, seculo pacem suo.
 Hæc summa virtus ; petitur hæc cælum viâ.”

CHAPTER XCV.

SECOND RESTORATION OF LOUIS, AND DEATH OF
NAPOLEON.

WITH such rapidity did Napoleon continue his flight, that he was himself the first man who brought to the French capital authentic accounts of his own defeat. The telegraph had announced in exaggerated terms the victory of Ligny, and the imperial partisans immediately expected the total overthrow of the English army. Their exultation was already great, when, on the morning of the 19th, sinister rumours began to circulate in the capital, that a terrible battle had been fought near Mont St Jean, and that the army had been destroyed. These reports increased in strength and minuteness during the remainder of the day ; and while the friends of Napoleon, and the workmen in the suburbs, were thrown into despair, the shopkeepers and wealthier classes of the citizens recovered confidence, and the public funds of all descriptions rose with surprising rapidity. The opinion soon became universal that the cause of the Emperor was desperate ; that he had staked his last throw on victory at Waterloo, and that overthrow there was irrecoverable ruin. From Charleroi, he had written in the most encouraging terms to the government, adding, that courage and firmness alone were necessary to re-establish affairs. He was far, however, from feeling the confidence which he expressed in his letter ;¹ Labedoyère and the officers round him were

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1.

Flight of
Napoleon,
and his
arrival at
Paris.

¹ Hist. Parl.
xl. 201. Cap.
210, 217.
Montg. viii.
218, 219.
Fouché, ii.
343, 345.
Thib. 392,
393.

in the deepest dejection, and already began to anticipate that punishment for their treachery to the royal government, which they were well aware they richly deserved. Meanwhile Fouché, who had got the earliest intelligence of the disaster, was straining every nerve to secure his own interest in the approaching revolution, when Napoleon, at four o'clock in the morning of the 21st, arrived at Paris, and alighted at the Elysée Bourbon.

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1815.

His first step, on his arrival, was to send for Caulaincourt: his agitation was such, that he could hardly articulate. "The army," said he, "has performed prodigies; but a sudden panic seized it and all has been lost. Ney conducted himself like a madman; he caused my cavalry to be massacred. I can do no more. I must have two hours of repose, and a warm bath, before I can attend to business." After he had taken the bath he became more collected, and spoke with anxiety of the Chambers, insisting that a dictatorship alone could save the country—that he would not seize it, but he hoped the Chambers would offer it. "I have no longer an army," added he: "they are but a set of fugitives. I may find men, but how shall I arm them? I have no muskets. Nothing but a dictatorship can save the country. The majority of the Chamber is well inclined; I have only against me Lafayette, Lanjuinais, and a few others. If the nation rise, the enemy will be crushed: if, instead of rising, they dispute, all is lost. The people have not sent deputies to overturn me but to support me. I fear them not, whatever they may do: I shall always be the idol of the nation and army: if I gave the word, they would be massacred. But if we quarrel, instead of understanding each other, we shall undergo the fate of the Lower Empire." He had altogether miscalculated, however, the temper of the Chambers. The utmost agitation prevailed among the Deputies, to whom the Emperor's bulletin, giving an account of the fatal battle of Waterloo, had just been read; and the Chamber was inundated with offi-

2.
Consternation in the
Chambers.

CHAP.
XCV.

1815.

¹ Hist. Parl.
xl. 207.
Cap. ii. 223,
224. Thib.
x. 398.
Chateaub.
Mem. vii.
30.

cers from the army, who even exaggerated the extent of the calamity, great as it was. Already the parties were formed : Carnot and Lucien strongly supported a dictatorship being conferred on Napoleon ; but Fouché, Lafayette, Dupin, and the leaders of the popular party there, had entered into a coalition, the object of which was to erect, as in 1789, the National Assembly into absolute sovereignty, and, amidst the wreck of the national fortunes, attempt to establish the vain dogma of the sovereignty of the people.¹

3.
Vehemence
of Lafayette
and the
republicans
against the
Emperor.

“ The House of Representatives,” said Lafayette, “ declares that the independence of the nation is menaced. The Chamber declares its sittings permanent. Every attempt to dissolve it is declared high treason. The troops of the line and the national guards, who have combated, and do combat to defend the liberty and the independence of France, have deserved well of their country ; the minister of the interior is invited to unite to the general staff the commanders of the national guard at Paris, and to consider the means of augmenting to the greatest amount that civil force, which during six-and-twenty years has been the only protection of the tranquillity of the country, and the inviolability of the representatives of the nation.” This resolution, which at once destroyed the Emperor’s power, was carried by acclamation. Prince Lucien accused Lafayette of ingratitude to Napoleon. “ You accuse me of wanting gratitude towards Napoleon !” replied Lafayette : “ have you forgotten what we have done for him ? Have you forgotten that the bones of our children, of our brothers, everywhere attest our fidelity—in the sands of Africa, on the shores of the Guadalquivir and the Tagus, on the banks of the Vistula, and in the frozen deserts of Muscovy ? During more than ten years, three millions of Frenchmen have perished for a man who wishes still to struggle against all Europe. We have done enough for him. Our duty now is to save the country.”²

² Hist. Parl.
xl. 207,
215. Thib.
x. 398, 400.
Cap. ii. 223,
224, 229.

It was evident, from the profound sensation which these sentiments made upon the Deputies, that the cause of the Emperor was lost. Already the fatal words—"Let him abdicate! let him abdicate!" were heard on the benches; and, what was still more alarming, the national guards mustered in strength and ranged themselves round the Hall of Assembly, and there was scarcely any armed force in the capital to support his cause. The Chamber appointed a commission of five persons, including Lafayette, Lanjuinais, Dupont de l'Eure, Grenier, all decided enemies of Napoleon, who were to confer with two other committees, appointed by the Council of State and the Peers, on the measures necessary to save the country. Meanwhile the Deputies resumed their sittings in the evening, and the cry for the abdication of the Emperor became universal. "I demand," said General Solignac, "that a deputation of five persons shall wait upon the Emperor, and inform him of the necessity of an immediate decision." "Let us wait an hour," cried Lucien. "An hour, but no more," replied Solignac. "If the answer is not then returned," added Lafayette, "I will move his dethronement." When Lucien went with this commission to Napoleon, he found him in the utmost agitation; sometimes proposing to dissolve the Chamber by military force, at others to blow out his brains. Lucien openly told him that there was no choice between dismissing the Chamber, and seizing the supreme power, or abdicating; and, with his usual boldness, he strongly advised him to adopt the former alternative. Maret and Caulaincourt, on the other hand, counselled an abdication, insisting that the times were very different from the 18th Brumaire, and that the national representatives were now strongly founded in the opinion of the people. "The Chamber," said Napoleon, "is composed of Jacobins, of madmen, who wish power and disorder: I should have denounced them to the nation, and chased them from their places. Dethrone me! they would not dare." "In an hour," replied

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4.
Measures
to force the
Emperor to
abdicate.
June 21.

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1815.

Regnault St Jean d'Angely, "your dethronement, on the motion of Lafayette, will be irrevocably pronounced: they have given you only an hour's grace. Do you hear? only an hour." Napoleon then turned with a bitter smile to Fouché, and said, "Write to these gentlemen to keep themselves quiet—they shall be satisfied." Fouché immediately wrote to the Chamber that the Emperor was about to abdicate. The intelligence diffused universal joy among the Deputies, who exclaimed, "The Emperor has abdicated; no Bourbons—no imperial prince!" They flattered themselves that the days of the Revolution had returned, and that they had only to proclaim the sovereignty of the people. Ere long the abdication itself was received in these terms:—"In commencing the war to sustain the national independence, I counted on the union of all efforts, of all inclinations, and of all the national authorities. I had good reason to hope for success, and I had braved all the declarations of the powers against me. Circumstances appear to be changed, and I offer myself as a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France. May they be sincere in their declarations, and direct their hostility only against my person. My political life is ended; and I proclaim my son, under the title of Napoleon the Second, emperor of the French. The existing ministers will form the council of government. The interest which I feel in my son induces me to invite the Chambers to organise, without delay, the regency by law. Let all unite for the public safety, and the maintenance of the national independence."¹

¹ Thib. x.
403, 405.
Hist. Parl.
xl. 221,
222, Cap.
ii. 234, 235.

5.
Vigorous
efforts of
Wellington
to prevent
pillage.

While these decisive measures were going on at Paris, Wellington and Blucher were advancing with the utmost expedition through the French territory. The former marched by Nivelles, Binche, and le Cateau; the latter by Charleroi, Beaumont, Avesnes, and Landrecy; names rendered famous in former wars, but never the theatre of such a triumphant procession as on the present occasion. In conformity with his former conduct on

crossing the Pyrenees, the English general issued the most peremptory orders to his troops to abstain from pillage of every description, and to observe the strictest discipline,* reminding the soldiers that the people of France were the subjects of a friendly sovereign, and that no pillage or contributions of any kind were to be permitted.† In spite of all his efforts, however, many disorders occurred, especially among the Belgian regiments; for the soldiers had only recently begun to act together, and long habits of discipline are necessary to prevent a victorious army from indulging in depredation. He wrote, in consequence, in the sternest language to the Belgian generals, declaring that he would hold the officers

* Wellington's conduct and principles on this occasion, and indeed throughout his whole career, were identical with those of Belisarius when he invaded Africa, with the comparatively inconsiderable forces of Justinian, in order to expel the Vandal military government:—"The next morning some of the gardens were pillaged, and Belisarius, after chastising the offenders, embraced the slight occasion, at the decisive moment, of inculcating the maxims of justice, moderation, and genuine policy. 'When I first accepted,' said he, 'the commission of subduing Africa, I depended much less on the numbers, or even the bravery of my troops, than on the friendly disposition of the inhabitants, and their undying hatred of the Vandals. You alone can deprive me of this hope, if you continue to extort by violence what might be purchased for a little money. Such acts of violence will reconcile these implacable enemies, and unite them in a just and holy league against the invaders of their country.' These exhortations were enforced by a rigid discipline, of which the soldiers themselves soon felt and praised the salutary effects. The inhabitants, instead of deserting their homes or hiding their corn, supplied the Romans with a fair and liberal market; the civil officers of the province continued to exercise their functions in the name of Justinian; and the clergy, from motives of conscience and interest, assiduously laboured to promote the cause of a Catholic emperor."—GIBBON, Chap. xli. vol. iv. 11, 12, *Milman's Edit.* There is no reason to suppose that, when Wellington entered France, he had ever thought of Belisarius's policy on invading Africa; but justice and moderation produce the same effects in all ages and countries of the world. The identity of the policy and language of the Roman and English generals, in two such remote and opposite ages, and the entire similarity of the effects produced by them, is one of the most curious and interesting facts recorded in history.

† "As the army is about to enter the French territory, the troops of the nations at present under the command of Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington are desired to recollect that their respective sovereigns are in alliance with his Majesty the King of France, and that France, therefore, should be treated as a friendly country. It is therefore required that nothing should be taken, either by officers or soldiers, for which payment is not made. The commissaries of the army will provide for the wants of the troops in the usual manner; and it is not permitted, either to officers or soldiers, to extort contributions."—SIBORNE, ii. 316.

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of corps personally responsible for any pillage by the men under their command.* Blucher, on the other hand, took hardly any pains to prevent plundering, but pushed on with the utmost energy direct towards Paris. The French army fell back in great confusion along the high road by Avesnes to Laon, which they reached on the 22d, and where they were to a certain degree rallied by Soult, who had assumed the command. On the 25th, they retired to Soissons, where they were joined by Grouchy, who, in compliance with an order of the provisional government, superseded Soult. The Allies, meanwhile, determined, instead of pursuing the French along the great road, to advance by the right bank of the Oise, and to cross that river at Compiègne and Pont St Maxence, thus turning their left flank. They hoped by this movement not only to avoid all affairs of rearguards, but to interpose between the fugitives and the line of their retreat, and reach Paris before them. The pursuit of the French along the Laon road was confided to the Prussian cavalry alone. Prince Frederick of the Netherlands was left, with his corps, to blockade the fortresses between the Scheldt and the Sambre; and Prince Augustus of Prussia, with Pirch's Prussian and Kleist's German corps, (which last had just come up from the Rhine,) those between the Sambre and the Moselle.¹

¹ Gur. xii.
489. Si-
borne, ii.
316.

6.
Rapid ad-
vance of the
English and
Prussians
towards
Paris.
June 26.

The important fortress of Cambray was surprised and taken by escalade by Sir Neil Campbell and Colonel Mitchel, under the direction of Sir Charles Colville, on the night of the 24th of June, with the loss of only thirty-five men. Peronne, styled la Pucelle from its never having been captured, was carried by storm in the most gallant manner by the Guards on the evening of the 26th. Excepting in these instances, no opposition whatever was experienced on the march; and with such

* "Je ne veux pas commander de tels officiers. J'ai été assez longtemps soldat pour savoir que les pillards, et ceux qui les encouragent, ne valent rien devant l'ennemi : et je n'en veux pas."—GURWOOD, xii. 489.

expedition did both armies move, that on the 27th the Prussian army, which was one day's march ahead of the British, crossed the Oise in two columns, the left column under Blucher in person at Compiègne, the right under Bulow, at Pont St Maxence and Creil. On the 28th, Blucher's advanced guard fell upon the flank of the main body of the French army under Grouchy, as it was falling back from Soissons, at Villers Cotterets, and made many prisoners ; whilst that of Bulow, under Prince Frederick of Prussia, advancing on Mally-la-Ville, assailed the remains of d'Erlon's and Reille's corps, as they were retreating from Nanteuille, and defeated them with great loss. In these actions, the Prussians captured 16 pieces of cannon, and 4000 prisoners, and succeeded in cutting off the direct line of retreat of the French troops, compelling the greater portion of them to abandon the high road and march along cross-roads to Meaux, from whence they reached Paris by the banks of the Marne. On the 29th the advanced guard of the British passed the Oise at Pont St Maxence, and pressing on upon the following day, occupied on the 1st July the wood of Bondy, close to Paris. Meanwhile Blucher, who on the night of the 29th had stormed the village of Aubervilliers, finding the main position of the French army, behind the canal of St Denis, too strong to be forced, moved to his right, crossed the Seine at St Germain, and after a severe cavalry action at Versailles, in which two regiments of Prussian hussars were cut to pieces, established himself on the evening of the 2d July, his right at Plessis, his left at St Cloud, and his reserve at Versailles. The English army, as it came up, occupied the ground on the north of Paris thus vacated by the flank movement of the Prussians. The object of these movements was to turn the strong line of fortifications, erected by Napoleon to the north of Paris, by the south and left bank of the Seine, where no field-works had yet been raised for its protection.¹ With such expedition were they conducted that,

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June 27.

¹ Wellington's General Orders, June 20, 1815. Gur. xii. 493. Ibid. xii. 503, 532; and Wellington to Lord Bathurst, Gur. xii. 507. Plottho, 124, 136. Jom. iv. 642. Die Grosse Chron. iv. 440, 449.

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in *ten days* after the Allies had fought at Waterloo, they were grouped in appalling strength round the walls of Paris.

7.
Energetic
announcement of the
public danger by Ney
to the
Chambers.
June 24.

Meanwhile, the imperial party in the Chamber of Peers, headed by Lucien, Labedoyère, and Count Flahault, made the most energetic efforts, after Napoleon had abdicated, to sustain the imperial dynasty in the person of the young Napoleon. Davoust had just read a report of the military resources that yet remained to France in the most favourable point of view, and Carnot was commencing a commentary in the same strain, when Ney, who had just arrived, vehemently interrupting him, said, "That is false ! That is false ! They are deceiving you : they are deceiving you in every respect. The enemy are victorious at all points. I have seen the disorder, since I commanded under the eyes of the Emperor. It is a mere illusion to suppose that sixty thousand men can be collected. It is well if Marshal Grouchy can rally ten or fifteen thousand men ; and we have been beaten too thoroughly for them to make any resistance to the enemy. Here is our true state. Wellington is at Nivelles with eighty thousand men. The Prussians are far from being beaten. In six or seven days the enemy will be at the gates of the capital." Flahault, and others of the imperial party, endeavoured to support the report of Davoust ; upon which Ney replied, with increased vehemence—" I am not one of those to whom their interest is all in all. What have I to gain by the return of the Bourbons, but to be shot for desertion ? but I owe the truth to my country."¹

¹ Hist. Parl.
xl. 238, 241.
Thib. x.
410, 411.
Chateaub.
vii. 32.

8.
Stormy
scene in
the Cham-
ber of Peers.

Vehement agitation followed this announcement ; and soon after, Lucien, Joseph, Labedoyère, and the whole imperial officers, entered with plumed hats and in full dress, and Lucien exclaimed with a loud voice, "The Emperor is politically dead. Long live the Emperor Napoleon the Second !" Many voices opposed this proposition. "Who dares resist it ?" said Labedoyère. "A few base

individuals, constant in the worship of power, and who show themselves as skilful in detaching themselves from it in misfortune as in flattering it in prosperity. I have seen them around the throne—at the foot of the sovereign, in the days of his greatness: they fly from it at the approach of danger; they reject Napoleon the Second because they wish to receive the laws of the strangers, whom they already call their allies, possibly their friends. Is it then, great God! decided that nothing is ever to be heard in this Chamber but the voice of baseness? What other voice has been heard here for ten years?" And with these words, seeing the great majority decidedly against him, he rushed out of the assembly. But these violent sallies determined nothing; and at length the Peers adopted unanimously a middle course, and appointed a commission of five persons to carry on the government, consisting of Caulaincourt and Quinette, with Fouché, Carnot, and Grenier. Such was the address of Fouché, that he contrived to get himself named the president of the commission, and soon obtained its entire direction. Napoleon, upon hearing of these appointments, said—"I now see clearly that I must yield. That infamous Fouché has deceived all. You trust, like fools, the promises of the stranger; you believe they will give you a prince after your own fashion—you are deceived." Finding supreme power beyond his reach, he wrote to the Chambers offering his services as general. On the 27th June he addressed to them the following letter, "In abdicating power I have not renounced the most noble right of a citizen, that of defending my country. In the present grave circumstances, I offer my services as general, regarding myself as the first soldier of my country." But such was the apprehension of the Emperor's ambition, that his offer was declined.¹

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¹ Cap. ii.
267, 277.
Hist. Parl.
xl. 238, 247.
Thib. x.
410, 412.
Chateaub.
vii. 32.

It was not, however, by any debates in the Chamber of Peers or Deputies that the government of France was to be decided; an overwhelming foreign force was

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9.

Attempts to
defend
Paris. Their
failure.
July 2.

advancing with rapid strides, and everything depended on the negotiations with the Allied generals, and the means that could be taken to defend the capital. Carnot exerted himself to the utmost to strengthen it on the left bank of the Seine, where it was obviously to be attacked; and in a laboured speech, on the 2d July, to the councils of government, endeavoured to show that resistance was yet practicable. Soult, however, expressed a decided opinion that Paris was so weak on that side of the river, that it was in vain to think of prolonging its defence; that there were not at the utmost more than forty-five thousand men in the capital, and that he could not answer for the result of a combat. Massena supported this opinion; and after referring to his defence of Genoa as a proof that he was not disposed lightly to surrender a fortified place, declared that he would not engage to defend Paris an hour. The matter was ultimately referred to a commission of all the marshals and military men in the capital, and they unanimously declared that the city could not be defended. It was determined, therefore, to enter into a capitulation; and, in fact, Wellington had been in close communication with commissioners of the government ever since his arrival in the vicinity of Paris on the 29th June.¹

¹ Cap. ii.
296, 320.
Gurw. xii.
541. Thib.
x. 416, 428.

10.

Movements
of the Allies,
which lead
to its capitulation.
July 2 and
3.

Meanwhile Ziethen, after a short conflict, succeeded in establishing himself on the heights of Meudon, and in the village of Issy. On the following day the French attacked him in the latter village in considerable force, but they were repulsed with the loss of a thousand men. A bridge was begun to be erected at Argenteuil, to establish the communication between the British and Prussian armies, and an English corps moved to the left bank of the Seine by the bridge of Neuilly. Davoust, upon this, sent to propose an armistice for the conclusion of a convention; but some difficulty was at first experienced from Blucher positively insisting upon the whole French army laying down their arms, to which the French

marshals declared they never would be brought to submit. At length Fouché, who was doing everything to pave the way for the return of the Bourbons, persuaded them that the restoration of Louis XVIII. would be much facilitated, both with the populace and the army, if a capitulation were granted to the troops; and the terms were at length agreed upon on the evening of the 3d July. It was stipulated that the French army should, on the following day, commence the evacuation of the capital, with their arms, artillery, caissons, and whole personal property: that within eight days they should be entirely established to the south of the Loire: that private property of every description should be respected, as well as public, except in so far as it was of a warlike character. The twelfth article, which acquired a melancholy interest from the tragedy which followed, was in these terms: "Individual persons and property shall be respected; and, in general, all the individuals who are at present in the capital shall continue to enjoy their rights and liberties, *without being disquieted or prosecuted in any respect*, in regard to the functions which they occupy, or may have occupied, or to their political conduct or opinions."¹

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¹ Wellington to Lord Bathurst, July 4, 1815. Gur. xii. 541. Convention, July 3, 1815. Ibid. 542, 544. Ploto, iv. 153, 170. Vaud. 235, 246. Cap. ii. 296, 354. Grolman Damitz, ii. 149, 151. Die Grosse Chron. iv. 453, 473.

It is impossible for any language to convey an idea of the universal interest excited in the British empire by the brief but stirring campaign of Waterloo, or the unbounded transports which were felt at the glorious victory which terminated it.* Although the official accounts of the battles of Quatre Bras and Waterloo were received together, yet intelligence had been received two days

11.
Universal transports at those events in Great Britain.

* The total loss of the Allied armies under Blucher and Wellington, from the 15th June to the 3d July, was as follows:—

	OFFICERS.			SOLDIERS.			TOTAL LOSS.
	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	
Prussians,	106	606	41	5,664	15,744	10,959	} 33,120
Brit. and Han.,	148	670	28	2,288	8,856	1,847	
Belgians,	23	115	6	446	1,936	1,612	
Brunswickers,	12	47	...	251	935	260	} 19,476
	289	1,438	75	8,649	27,471	14,678	
							52,596

—Die Grosse Chron. iv. 472.

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before of Napoleon having crossed the frontier and attacked the Prussian troops, and the utmost anxiety pervaded all classes as to the result of the impending conflict. No one who was then of an age to understand what was going on, can ever forget the entrancing joy which thrilled the British heart when the thunder of artillery proclaimed the glorious news, and when Wellington's letter was read aloud to crowds with beating hearts, in every street, by whoever was fortunate enough to have obtained first a copy of the *London Gazette*.* Even those who had lost sons or brothers in the conflict, and they were many, shared in the general exultation: grief was almost overwhelmed amidst the universal joy: it was felt that life could not have been so well sacrificed as for the advancement of such a cause. The lover left his fair one, the mother her child. Spontaneous illuminations were seen in every city; exultation beamed in every eye; gratitude was felt in every heart. All work, alike in the

* It is singular how frequently a rumour of a great and decisive victory prevails at a great distance in an inconceivably short space of time after its actual occurrence. In the London papers of Tuesday the 20th June,¹ a rumour was mentioned of Napoleon "having been defeated in a great battle near Brussels, on Sunday evening, in which he lost all his heavy artillery." The official despatches did not arrive in London till midnight on Wednesday. It was the same with the battle of the Metaurus in the second Punic war, which determined its issue. "A doubtful rumour," says Arnold, "at first arose, that a great battle had been fought *only two days* before: two horsemen of Narnia had ridden off from the field to carry the news to their home: it had been heard and published in the camp of the reserve army of Narni. But how could a battle fought in the extremity of Umbria be heard of only two days after at Rome?" —LIVY, xxvii. 50; ARNOLD'S *Rome*, iii. 377. A similar incident is recounted of the battle of Plataea, under circumstances still more extraordinary:—"Eodem fortè die quo Mardonii copiae deletae sunt, etiam navali proelio in Asia sub monte Mycale adversus Persas dimicatum est. Ibi ante congressionem, quum classes ex adverso starent, fama ad utrumque exercitum venit, vicisse Graecos, et Mardonii copias occisione occidisse. Tanta famae velocitas fuit, ut quum matutino tempore proelium in Boeotia commissum sit, meridianis horis in Asiam, per tot maria et tantum spatii, tam brevi horarum momento de victoria nuntiatum sit." It is a singular circumstance, that a similar and almost miraculous rapidity should have occurred in the transmission of the intelligence of the battles of Plataea, the Metaurus, and Waterloo, the most decisive in their consequences, and influential of the fate of future ages, in ancient and modern times. It would seem that an unerring instinct tells mankind when actions of vast moment have been fought, and leads them to make almost supernatural efforts in the transmission of the accounts of them. The same paper

¹ Courier,
June 20,
1815.

streets and the fields, was suspended.* The plough was left in the furrow, the hammer on the anvil, the shuttle in the loom. The streets from morning till night were thronged with crowds too excited to rest, wandering about intoxicated with transport. Children even, too young to know the cause, shared in the general joy, and discharged little guns they knew not why. The aged, on the brink of the grave, recovered the fire of youth. The veterans recounted their combats; the young envied what they had done. A general thanksgiving, appointed by government, met with a responsive echo in every heart; both houses of parliament unanimously voted their thanks to the Duke of Wellington and the soldiers who had fought at Waterloo; and a medal was struck, by orders from the commander-in-chief, which was given to every officer and man who had borne arms on the eventful day. In almost all cases, it was preserved by them and their descendants with religious care to the latest hour of their lives. Yet was the most touching proof of the universal sympathy of the nation afforded by the general subscription, spontaneously entered into in every chapel and parish in the

(*Courier*, June 20, 1815) mentions that "Rothschild had made great purchase of stock, which raised the three-per-cents from 56 to 58." Perhaps, in the latter instance, this may explain the prodigy.

* "—— Oh se vedessi

In quai teneri eccessi
D'insolito piacer prorompe ogni alma!
Chi batte palma a palma,
Chi sparge fior, chi se ne adorna; i Numi
Chi ringrazia piangendo. Altri il compagno
Corre a sveller dall'opra; altri l'amico
Va dal sonno destar. Riman l'aratro
Qui nel solco imperfetto: ivi l'armento
Resta senza pastor. Le madri ascolti,
Di gioia insane, a' pargoletti ignari
Narrar di Ciro i casi. I tardi vecchi
Vedi ad onta degli anni
Sè stessi invigorir. Sino i fanciulli,
I fanciulli innocenti,
Non san perchè, ma sul comune esempio
Van festivi esclamando: al tempio, al tempio."

METASTASIO, *Ciro*, Act iii. scene 11.

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12.
Entry of the
English and
Prussians
into the
French
capital.

kingdom, for the widows and orphans of those who had fallen at Waterloo, or the relief of those who had been maimed in the fight, and which soon amounted to the immense sum of five hundred thousand pounds sterling.

The 7th of July was the proudest day in the annals of England. On that day her victorious army, headed by Wellington, made their public entry, along with the Prussians, into Paris, where an English drum had not been heard for nearly four hundred years. They approached by the imposing entrance of the barrier of Neuilly, defiled through the Champs Elysées, and, dividing in the Place Louis XV., spread on either side round the Boulevards, and took military possession of all the principal points in the capital. The troops had not the splendid appearance of the Russian and Prussian Guards on the former entry; the brief but dreadful campaign of Waterloo had soiled their dress and torn their accoutrements. But their aspect was not on that account the less striking. It had less of the pomp of the melodrama, but more of the reality of war. With inexpressible feelings the French beheld the standards riddled with shot and blackened by fire; the proud but grave air of the men; the soiled coats but clear and burnished arms; the splendid bearing and magnificent horses of the cavalry, by whom the last remains of the Old Guard had been destroyed. The Highland regiments in particular, arrayed in their full and beautiful national costume, attracted universal admiration. But it was a very different spectacle from the former entry of the Allies on the 31st of March 1814. Joy then beamed in every eye, hope was buoyant in every heart; all felt as if rescued from death. The reality of subjugation was now experienced: the crime of the nation had been unpardonable; its punishment was unknown, but all felt it could not but be great. With a proud step and beating hearts, to the triumphant sound of military music, with looks erect and banners flying, the British troops defiled through the capital. But the French regarded them with

melancholy hearts and anxious looks. Few persons were to be seen in the streets; hardly any sound but the clang of the horses' hoofs was heard when they marched through the city. The English established themselves in the Bois de Boulogne, in a regular camp; the Prussians bivouacked in the churches, on the quays, and in the principal streets.¹

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¹ Personal
knowledge.
Thib. x.
485. Cap.
ii. 340, 341.

Meanwhile Louis XVIII. slowly advanced in the rear of the English army towards Paris. Pozzo di Borgo, immediately after the battle of Waterloo, had written to him to come "before his place was filled up," and he came by Mons, attended by his ministers and Talleyrand, who met him by the way, and soon regained his ascendancy over that weak monarch. On the day following that of the English army, Louis made his public entrance into Paris. But his entry was attended by still more melancholy circumstances, and of sinister augury to the future stability of his dynasty. Even the Royalists were downcast; their patriotic feelings were deeply wounded by the defeat of France; they augured ill of the return of the king in the rear of the English bayonets. There was something in the restoration of the monarch, by the arms of the old rivals and enemies of France, which added inexpressibly to its bitterness. It was no longer "Europe in arms before her walls," in the words of Alexander, which sought for amity as the reward of pardon; it was England and Prussia which made their single and triumphant entry, and from whom nothing could be expected on this second overthrow but the stern maxim of war, "Woe to the vanquished!" The recollection of our Edwards and Henrys, of Cressy and Poitiers, mingled with the bitterness of present subjugation. Louis appeared another Charles, led by another Henry, after a second Azincour,* destined in mock royalty to sign a second treaty of Troyes. Hereditary animosities, old injuries,

13.
And of
Louis
XVIII.
July 8.

* It is a very curious coincidence that the battle of Waterloo was fought

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1815.

¹ Cap. ii.
340, 341.
Thib. x.
486, 487.
Moniteur,
July 8,
1815. Chat.
vii. 39.

joined with present mortification to render the feelings of all insupportable. Melancholy appeared in every visage ; a load was felt on every heart ; peace itself seemed dearly purchased at the price of such humiliation. The future was yet more disheartening than the present ; the partition of France, possibly its destruction, might be approaching ; even hope, the last consolation of the unfortunate, was gone.¹

14.

Melancholy
condition of
Paris after
the Restora-
tion.

Paris exhibited a melancholy aspect after the second restoration of Louis XVIII. On the same day on which it took place, Fouché announced the dissolution of the provisional government. The share he had had in recent events soon appeared in his appointment as minister of police to the restored monarch. But with him were not restored the visions which, to a considerable part of the nation, had obscured the bitterness of the former capture of Paris. The whole charm of the Restoration, in the eyes even of the Royalists, was gone ; its hopes to the nation were at an end. The bridges, and all the principal points of the town, were occupied by strong bodies of infantry and artillery ; patrols of cavalry were to be seen at every step ; the reality of subjugation was before their eyes. Blücher kept aloof from all intercourse with the court, and haughtily demanded a contribution of a hundred millions of francs, (£4,000,000 sterling) for the pay of his troops, as Napoleon had done from the Prussians at Berlin. Already the Prussian soldiers insisted with loud cries that the pillar of Austerlitz should be pulled down, as Napoleon had destroyed the pillar of Rosbach ; and Blücher was so resolute to destroy the bridge of Jena, that he had actually begun operations by running mines under the arches for blowing it up.²

² Gur. xii.
549, 553.
Cap. ii.
365, 366.

A negotiation ensued on the subject between him and Wellington, in which the stern Prussian haughtily demanded this sacrifice to the injured genius of his country. Wel-

just four hundred years after that of Azincour : the former took place on 18th June 1815 ; the latter on Oct. 25, 1415.—BLAIR'S *Chronology*.

lington as steadily resisted the ruthless act, but he had great difficulty in maintaining his point; and it was only by his placing a sentinel on the bridge,* and repeated and, earnest remonstrances, that the destruction of that beautiful monument was prevented. The manner of the Prussian officers and soldiers was often rude and harsh, and, beyond the limits of Paris, their troops indulged in every species of pillage. It was not that they were naturally fierce, or wanted generosity of feeling; but that they were profoundly wounded by the injuries of their country, and determined, now that they had the power, to avenge them. But very different was the conduct of the English army to their ancient rivals. So strict were the orders of their chief, so admirably were they seconded by his officers, that, on the admission even of their enemies, disorders of every kind were prevented, and property was as effectually guarded as in London or Vienna. So strongly impressed was Louis XVIII. with the discipline preserved by the British army since they entered France, that he requested Wellington to present the principal officers to him at the Tuileries, and, forming them in a circle round him, he said—"Gentlemen, I am happy to see you around me: I have to thank you, gentlemen, not for your valour—I leave that to others—but for your humanity to my poor people.¹ I thank you, gentlemen,

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15.

The bridge
of Jena is
saved by
Wellington.

¹ Cap. ii.
362, 366.
Wellington
to Blücher,
July 8,
1815. Gur.
xii. 549,
553, 558.

* "Several reports have been brought to me during the night, and some from the government, in consequence of the work carrying on by your highness on one of the bridges over the Seine, which it is supposed to be the intention of your highness to destroy.

"As this measure will certainly create a good deal of disturbance in the town, and as the sovereigns, when they were here before, left all these bridges, &c., standing, I take the liberty of suggesting to you to delay the destruction of the bridge till they arrive, or till I have the pleasure of seeing you to-morrow morning."—WELLINGTON to BLÜCHER, 8th July 1815, *midnight*; GURWOOD, xii. 549.

Blücher, however, was not to be diverted from his project even by this judicious remonstrance; the preparations for blowing up the bridge still continued, and in consequence Wellington again addressed him in the following terms, on the following day:—

"The destruction of the bridge of Jena is highly disagreeable to the king and to the people, and may occasion disturbance in the city. It is not merely

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16.

Journey of
Napoleon to
Rochefort.
He delivers
himself up
to the Eng-
lish.

as a father in the name of his children." The history of the world has not so glorious a tribute to record from the sovereign of the vanquished to a conquering army.*

After his abdication of the imperial authority, Napoleon had retired to Malmaison, the scene of his early happiness with Josephine. It was sadly changed from what it had once been. In those walks where obsequious crowds once beat down the gravel roads, the foreign trees were perishing from want of care; no longer the black swans of Oceania floated on the ponds; the aviaries no longer were resplendent with the plumage of the tropics. All had shared in the fortunes of the Emperor. It had been irrevocably determined by the Allied sovereigns, that they would no longer either recognise Napoleon as a crowned head, or suffer him to remain in Europe; and that his residence, wherever it was, should be under such restrictions as should effectually prevent his again breaking loose to desolate the world. Napoleon himself, however, was anxious to embark for America, and the provisional government did everything in their power to facilitate that object. During his residence at Malmaison he offered, if the government would give him the command of the army, even for a single day, to attack the Prussians, who had incautiously thrown themselves to the south of the Seine without any proper communication

a military measure, but it is one likely to attach to the character of our operations, and is of political importance. It is adopted solely because the bridge is considered a monument of the battle of Jena, notwithstanding that the government are willing to change the name of the bridge. Considering the bridge as a monument, I beg leave to observe, that its immediate destruction is inconsistent with the promise made to the commissioners on the part of the French army, that the monuments, museums, &c., should be left to the decision of the Allied sovereigns. All that I ask is, that the execution of the orders given for the destruction of the bridge may be suspended till the sovereigns arrive here, when, if it should be agreed by common accord that the bridge ought to be destroyed, I shall have no objection."—WELLINGTON to BLUCHER, 9th July 1815; GURWOOD, xii. 553. By this letter time was gained, and, when the sovereigns arrived, the project was not resumed.

* I had this interesting fact from Colonel Sir Digby Mackworth, aide-de-camp to the late Lord Hill, who was present on the occasion, to whose kindness I am much indebted.

with the English on the north, and assured them that there could be no doubt of the success of the enterprise ; but they deemed this, probably justly, too hazardous, and likely to injure the negotiations in which they were engaged with the Allied generals. After a melancholy sojourn of six days at Malmaison, Napoleon set out for Rochefort, with an immense number of carriages laden with all the most precious articles which he could collect from palaces within his reach, and travelled with all the pomp and circumstance of an emperor to that harbour, where he arrived on the morning of the 3d of July. His resolution, however, finally to quit the scene of his greatness, was not yet taken ; for during the course of his journey, and after his arrival at Rochefort, he had various communications with the troops at Paris, and on their march to the Loire, which continued down to the moment of his embarking on the 14th. But he found that the blockade of the English cruisers was so vigilant, that there was no possible chance of avoiding them ; and after ten days' vacillation, and having considered every possible project of escape, he at length adopted the resolution of throwing himself on the generosity of the British government, and sent to Captain Maitland of the *Bellerophon* the following letter, addressed to the Prince Regent :—" Exposed to the factions which divide my country, and to the hostility of the great powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career, and I come, like Themistocles, to seat myself by the hearth of the British people. I put myself under the protection of its laws, and claim it from your Royal Highness as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies." On the following day he embarked on board the *Bellerophon*, and was received with the honours due to his rank as a general, by Captain Maitland, who immediately set sail with his noble prisoner for the British shores.¹

CHAP.
XCV.

1815.

July 2.

July 13.

July 14.
 1 Cap. ii.
 545, 552.
 Thib. x.
 495, 498.
 Scott's Na-
 poleon, ix.
 61, 72.
 Chateaub.
 Mem. vii.
 72.

Had the British government been acting alone in this

CHAP.
XCV.

1815.

17.

Removal of
Napoleon to
St Helena.

transaction, they might have had some difficulty how to conduct themselves on the occasion ; for certainly never was a more touching appeal made to the humanity of a hostile nation, and never was there an occasion on which a generous heart would have felt a more ardent desire to act in a manner worthy of the splendid testimony to their character thus borne by their great antagonist.* But England was but a single power in the alliance ; her whole measures were taken in concert ; the power of Napoleon over his troops had recently been evinced in a manner so striking, and his disregard of the obligation of treaties was so universally known, and had been so recently exemplified by his return from Elba, that it was obviously altogether impossible to think of keeping him in Europe. It was therefore politely, but firmly, intimated to him by the British government, that the determination of the Allied sovereigns was irrevocably taken, and that he must be removed to St Helena. Napoleon vehemently protested against this measure, which he alleged was a breach of the understanding on which he had delivered himself up to Captain Maitland ; although nothing could be clearer than that he had made no terms with that officer, and that, if he had any claim at all, it was only on the generosity of the British government. When Lord Keith delivered to him the resolution of the

* Would that the character of Napoleon had enabled the British government to act up to the noble feelings ascribed by the poet to Xerxes on the occasion referred to by Napoleon :—

*“ Serse.**E ti par poco**Credermi generoso ?**Fidarmi una tal vita ? Aprirmi un campo,**Onde illustrar la mia memoria ? E tutto**Rendere a' regni miei**In Temistocle sol quanto perdei ?**Temistocle. Ma le ruine, il sangue,**Le stragi, onde son reo.**Serse.**Tutto compensa**La gloria di poter nel mio nemico**Onorar la virtù. L'onta di pria**Fu della sorte ; e questa gloria é mia.”**METASTASIO, Temistocle, Act ii. scene 2.*

British government, he said—"It is worse than the cage of Bajazet." The government, however, was inexorable; and after remaining a fortnight in Plymouth Roads, during which time he was the object of the most flattering curiosity and attention, from all who could get a glimpse of him from the neighbouring towns, he was removed on board the Northumberland, and set sail for St Helena, which he reached on the 16th of October. Both during the voyage out, and while on board the Bellerophon, the charm of his conversation, and fascination of his manner, won the hearts of the sailors, as the acuteness of his remarks and depth of his reflections excited the admiration of the officers. With his accustomed mental activity, he inquired into the minutest particulars—into the discipline of the ship—and was particularly struck with the silence and order which always prevailed. "What could you not do with a hundred thousand such men!" said he; "I now cease to wonder that the English were always victorious at sea. There was more noise on board the Epervier schooner, which conveyed me from Isle d'Aix to Basque Roads, than on board the Bellerophon, with a crew of six hundred men, between Rochefort and Plymouth." The last view which he had of the land of France was off Cape la Hogue, the scene of the great naval defeat of Louis XIV.¹

A still more melancholy humiliation than they had yet experienced ere long befell the French nation. The Allied sovereigns now arrived in Paris, and insisted upon the restoration of the objects of art in the museum of the Louvre, which had been pillaged from their respective states by the orders of Napoleon. The justice of this demand could not be contested: it was only wresting the prey from the robber. Talleyrand, who had now resumed his functions as minister of foreign affairs, appealed to the article in the capitulation of Paris, which provided for the preservation of public and private property, if not of a military description. But to this it was

CHAP.
XCV.

1815.

Oct. 16.

¹ Maitland's
Narrative,
74, 82.
Scott's
Napoleon,
ix. 75, 105.
Cap. i. 355,
364. Cha-
teaub. Mem.
vii. 88, 91.

18.
Restoration
of the works
of art from
the Museum
of the
Louvre.

CHAP.
XCV.

1815.

replied with justice, that these objects of art, seized contrary to the law of nations by Napoleon, could not be regarded as rightly the property of the French nation ; and that, even if they were so, it was beyond the powers of the Allied generals to tie up the hands of absent and independent sovereigns, who took no benefit by the capitulation, by any stipulations of their own. The restitution of the objects of art, accordingly, was resolved on, and forthwith commenced, under the care of British and Prussian soldiers, who occupied the Place Carrousel during the time the removal was going forward. Nothing wounded the French so profoundly as this breaking up of the trophies of the war. It told them, in language not to be misunderstood, that conquest had now reached their doors : the iron went into the soul of the nation.¹

¹ Chap. iii.
86, 89.
Moniteur,
July 18,
24, 1815.

19.
Good effect
of this
breaking
up of the
Museum,
and digni-
fied absti-
nence from
pillage by
the Allied
sovereigns.

A memorial from all the artists of Europe at Rome, claimed for the Eternal City the entire restoration of the immortal works of art which had once adorned it. The Allied sovereigns acceded to the just demand ; and Canova, impassioned for the arts and the city of his choice, hastened to Paris to superintend the removal. It was most effectually done. The bronze horses brought from Corinth to Rome, from thence transported to Constantinople by the great founder of that city, and from its hippodrome to Venice by the Doge Dandolo, were restored to their old station in front of the church of St Mark. The Transfiguration, and the Last Communion of St Jerome, resumed their place in the halls of the Vatican ; the Apollo, and the Laocoon, again adorned the precincts of St Peter's ; the Venus was enshrined anew amidst beauty in the Tribune of Florence ; and the Descent from the Cross, by Rubens, was restored to the devout admiration of the faithful in the cathedral of Antwerp. Whoever has witnessed the magnificent gallery of the Louvre, when yet untouched in 1814, and again visited the paintings it contained in their native seats, will rejoice that this restoration took place. The accumulation of

beauty in that great museum fatigued the mind ; its enchanting objects had been transplanted among a nation who could little appreciate them, though infinitely proud of their possession ; they had been withdrawn from the people to whom they formed the proudest inheritance, and had become the trophy of angry strife and vehement passion, which “to party gave up what was meant for mankind.” Impartial justice must admire the dignified restraint which confined the restitution to the removal of objects illegally seized by Napoleon during his conquests, and abstained, when it had the power, from following his bad example, by the seizure of any which belonged to the French nation.¹

CHAP.
XCV.

1815.

¹ Cap. Hist.
de la Res-
toration, iii.
86, 89.
Cent Jours,
ii. 367, 368.
Scott's
Paris Re-
visited,
242, 256.

The claims preferred by the different Allied powers for restitution, not merely of celebrated objects of art, but of curiosities and valuable articles of all kinds, which had been carried off by the French during their occupation of the different countries of Europe, especially under Napoleon, were immense, and demonstrated at once the almost incredible length to which the system of spoliation and robbery had been carried by the republican and imperial authorities. Their amount may be estimated by one instance from an official list, prepared by the Prussian authorities in 1815. It appears that, during the years 1806 and 1807, there had been violently taken from the Prussian states, and brought to Paris, statues, paintings, antiquities, cameos, manuscripts, maps, gems, antiques, rarities, and other valuable articles, the catalogue of which occupies *fifty-three closely printed pages* of M. Schoell's valuable Recueil. Among them are a hundred and twenty-seven paintings, many of them of the very highest value, taken from the palaces of Berlin and Potsdam alone ; a hundred and eighty-seven statues, chiefly antique, taken from the same palaces during the same period ; and eighty-six valuable manuscripts and documents seized in the city of Aix-la-Chapelle, on the occupation of that city, then neutral,

20.

Immense
extent of
French pil-
lage of ob-
jects of art
under Na-
poleon.

CHAP.
XCV.

1815.

¹ See the
Catalogue
in Schoell,
Recueil, vi.
237, 289.

21.
Enormous
extent of
their requi-
sitions in
money and
kind.

in 1803, by the armies of the First Consul on the invasion of Hanover. The total articles reclaimed by the Prussians exceeded two thousand. If such was the amount of spoliation officially ascertained in a northern state, during two years of conquest, where such objects of art were rarities of foreign growth, it may be conceived what must have been its magnitude in the case of Italy and Spain, where the fine arts were the natural produce of the soil, and their treasures had been ransacked during long years of hostile occupation.¹

The claims of states and cities for indemnity on account of the enormous exactions made from them by the French generals, under the authority of the Convention and the Emperor, were still more extraordinary, and demonstrated the prodigious, and, if not proved by official instruments, incredible extent to which the system of spoliation had been carried by the French military authorities. Their amount may be judged of by one instance. From an official list preserved in Schoell's *Recueil*, prepared by the mayor and magistrates of Hamburg, of the amount of French spoliation on their unhappy city, it appears that, from the 1st June 1813 to the 23d April 1814,—that is, during a period of somewhat less than eleven months,—Marshal Davoust had levied on Hamburg alone contributions in money to the amount of 2,805,684 francs, or £112,300 ; besides furnishings in kind to the value of 708,905 francs, or £28,036 ! The weight of these prodigious contributions will not be duly estimated, unless it is kept in mind that Hamburg was a city not containing at that period above 80,000 inhabitants ; that though possessed at one period of great commercial wealth, its trade had been ruined by a blockade for ten years, and its riches exhausted by many years' previous occupation by the French armies ; and that, from the difference in the value of money, these sums were equal to at least £250,000 in Great Britain.² When such was the amount coming from a single city in less than a single year, it may be conceived

² Schoell,
Recueil, vi.
158, 159.
N. 34, 35.

what was the exasperation produced in the states occupied by the French armies, and how immense the amount of indemnities claimed by the suffering nations, now that the day of reckoning had come to their oppressors.

The vast amount of these claims for indemnities in money or territories, and the angry feelings with which they were urged, were of sinister augury to the French nation, and augmented, in a most serious degree, the difficulties experienced by those who were intrusted with the conduct of the negotiations. But, be they what they may, the French had no means of resisting them ; all they could trust to was the moderation or jealousies of their conquerors. The force which, during the months of July and August, advanced from all quarters into their devoted territory, was immense, and such as demonstrated that, if Napoleon had not succeeded in dissolving the alliance by an early victory in the Netherlands, the contest, even without the battle of Waterloo, would have been hopeless. The united armies of Russians and Austrians, three hundred and fifty thousand strong, under Schwartzenberg and Barclay de Tolly, crossed the Rhine in various places from Bâle to Coblenz, and, pressing rapidly forward, soon occupied the whole eastern provinces of France. The Austrians and Piedmontese, a hundred thousand more, passed Mont Cenis, or descended the Rhone from Geneva to Lyons. The Spaniards made their appearance in Béarn or Rousillon. The armies of Blucher and Wellington, now reinforced to two hundred thousand effective men, occupied Paris, its environs, Normandy, and Picardy. Eighty thousand Prussians and Germans, in addition, were advancing through the Rhenish provinces and Belgium. Before the Allied sovereigns returned to Paris, in the middle of July, the French territory was occupied by eight hundred thousand men, to oppose which no considerable force remained but the army beyond the Loire, which mustered sixty-five thousand combatants. Huningen made a glorious defence

CHAP.
XCV.
1815.

22.
Immense
forces of the
Allies which
poured into
France in
July and
August.

CHAP.
XCV.

1815.

¹ Cap. Cent
Jours, ii.
370, 374.
Jom. Camp.
de 1815,
256, 258.

under General Barbanogre ; and Colonel Bugeaud sustained a heroic resistance with a single regiment, in Savoy, against a whole Austrian division. But these isolated deeds of valour had no sensible effect in retarding the progress of the Allied powers. The march of their columns continued without intermission ; and the rapid advance of Blucher and Wellington to Paris, before the campaign had well commenced, converted it into a mere military promenade and pacific occupation.¹

23.
Excessive
demands of
the Allied
powers.

The breaking up of the Museum was an ominous event to the French nation, for the neighbouring powers had territories as well as paintings to reclaim, spoliation as well as insult to retaliate ; and the spirit of conquest as well as revenge loudly demanded the cession of many of the most important provinces, which had been added by the Bourbon princes to the monarchy of Clovis. Austria insisted upon getting back Lorraine and Alsace ; Spain put in a claim to the Basque provinces ; Prussia alleged that her security would be incomplete unless Mayence, Luxembourg, and all the frontier provinces of France adjoining her territory, were ceded to her ; and the King of the Netherlands claimed the whole of the French fortresses of the Flemish barrier. The monarchy of Louis seemed on the eve of dissolution ; and so complete was the prostration of the vanquished, that there appeared no power capable of preventing it. It was with no small difficulty, and more from the mutual jealousies of the different powers than any other cause, that these natural reprisals for French rapacity were prevented from taking place. The negotiation was protracted at Paris till late in autumn ; Russia, which had nothing to gain by the proposed partition, took part with France throughout its whole continuance ; and the different powers, to support their pretensions in this debate, maintained their armies, who had entered on all sides, on the French soil ; so that above *eight hundred thousand foreign troops* were quartered on its inhabitants² for

Nov. 20,
1815.

² Cap. ii.
567, 582.
Martens,
Sup. ii.
682. Hard.
xii. 540,
544.

several months. At length, however, by the persevering efforts of Lord Castlereagh, M. Nesselrode, and M. Talleyrand, all difficulties were adjusted, and the second treaty of Paris was concluded in November 1815, between France and the whole Allied powers.

CHAP.
XCV.
1815.

By this treaty, and the relative conventions which were signed the same day, conditions of a very onerous kind were imposed upon the restored government. The French frontier was restored to the state in which it stood in 1790, by which means the whole of the territory, far from inconsiderable, gained by the treaty of 1814, was resumed by the Allies. In consequence of this, France lost the fortresses of Landau, Sarre-Louis, Philippeville, and Marienburg, with the adjacent territory of each. Versoix, with a small district round it, was ceded to the canton of Geneva; the fortress of Huningen was to be demolished; but the little country of the Venaisin, the first conquest of the Revolution, was preserved to France. Seven hundred millions of francs (£28,000,000 sterling) were to be paid to the Allied powers for the expenses of the war; in addition to which it was stipulated that an army of 150,000 men, composed of 30,000 from each of the great powers of England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, and the lesser powers of Germany, was to occupy, for a period not less than three, or more than five years, the whole frontier fortresses of France, from Cambray to Fort Louis, including Valenciennes and Quesnoi, Maubeuge and Landrecy; and this large force was to be maintained entirely at the expense of the French government. Besides this, the different powers obtained indemnities for the spoliations inflicted on them by France during the Revolution, which amounted to the enormous sum of seven hundred and thirty-five millions of francs more, (£29,400,000 sterling.) A hundred millions of francs were also provided to the smaller powers as an indemnity for the expenses of the war; so that the total sums which France had to pay, besides maintaining the

24.
Terms of
the treaty.
Nov. 20,
1815.

CHAP.
XCV.

1815.

¹ See treaty
in Martens,
i. 682; and
Schoell, xi.
501, 518.
King of Ne-
therlands to
Wellington,
19th July
1815. Gur.
xii. 572.

army of occupation, amounted to no less than fifteen hundred and thirty-five millions of francs, or £61,400,000 sterling. Truly France now underwent the severe but just law of retaliation; she was made to feel what she had formerly inflicted on Germany, Italy, and Spain. Great Britain, in a worthy spirit, surrendered the whole sum falling to her out of the indemnity for the war, amounting to nearly £5,000,000 sterling, to the King of the Netherlands, to restore the famous barrier against France which Joseph II. had so insantly demolished; and the Allied powers unanimously gave the highest proof of their sense of Wellington being the first of European generals, by conferring upon him the command of the army of occupation. The King of the Netherlands created him Prince of Waterloo, and declared his intention of "perpetuating by that title the recollection of my country delivered, and Europe saved."¹

25.
Review of
the British
troops in the
plain of St
Denis.
Sept. 5.

Two magnificent events followed the long occupation of the French territory by the Allied armies, previous to the signature of this treaty. The first was a review of all the British forces in the presence of the whole Allied powers, which took place in the plain of St Denis. The British army before this had been greatly strengthened by the arrival of the troops from Canada, great part of them Peninsular veterans, and by the recovery of a large part of the wounded who had suffered at Waterloo; and it now mustered sixty thousand red-coats. Never had such an array of native British troops been seen, and probably never will such be seen again. The soldiers, as if by enchantment, went through with admirable precision, under the orders of their chief, the whole manœuvres that had won the battle of Salamanca. The rapid advance of Pakenham's division athwart the line of Thomière's march; the onset of d'Urban's Portuguese horse; the splendid charge of le Marchant's heavy dragoons, and Anson's light cavalry, on Clausel's division; the desperate struggle on the rock of the Arapeiles; the

momentary success of the French in the centre ; and the decisive attack of Clinton's division, which restored the day and won the victory, were all displayed in mimic warfare, but with most imposing effect.¹ The pageant rivalled in precision, and exceeded in magnificence and interest, as well as proud circumstance, the representation by Napoleon of the battle of Marengo on its memorable field, the year he was made emperor.² The rapidity of the British movements, the quick fire of their artillery, the terrible vehemence of their charge with the bayonet, were the subject of universal admiration, and excited the surprise even of the sovereigns and generals accustomed from their infancy to such pageants.³

CHAP.
XCV.

1815.

¹ *Ante*, ch.
lxviii. § 71.² *Ante*, ch.
xxxix. § 37.³ Personal
knowledge.

The other was a great review of all the Russian troops that were in France, on the plains of Vertus, on 10th September 1815. This review conveyed an awful impression of the strength of the Russian empire when fairly roused : for a hundred and sixty thousand men, including eight-and-twenty thousand cavalry, were under arms on the field, with five hundred and forty pieces of cannon. The day was sultry, but clear ; and from a small hill in the centre of a large plain, at a short distance from Chalons, the whole immense lines were visible. The eye had scarcely time to comprehend so vast a spectacle, when a single gun, fired from a height, was the signal for three cheers from the troops. Even at this distance of time, those cheers sound as it were fresh in the ears of all who heard them ; their sublimity, like the roar of the ocean when near, and gradually melting away in the distance, was altogether overpowering. A general salute was then given by a rolling fire along the line from right to left ; the Russians soon after broke from their lines into grand columns of regiments, and marched past the sovereigns in splendid array. " Well, Charles," said the Duke of Wellington to Sir Charles Stewart, now Marquis of Londonderry, after the review was over, " you and I never saw such a sight before,⁴ and never

26.

Great re-
view of the
Russians on
the plains
of Vertus.
Sept. 10.⁴ London-
derry's War
in Germany,
334, 335.

CHAP.
XCV.

1815.

shall again : the precision of the movements of these troops was more like the arrangements of a theatre than those of such an army ; but still I think my little army would move round them in any direction, while they were effecting a single change."

27.
Trial and
execution of
Labadoyère
and Ney,
and condem-
nation and
escape of
Lavalette.

But the pomp and splendour of military display did not alone terminate the war in France. The muffled drum is in prospect. The Allied powers, irritated beyond endurance by the treachery and defection of the whole French army, and the perfidy with which the partisans of Napoleon had revolted to his side, insisted peremptorily upon measures of severity being adopted by the French government. The universal voice of Europe demanded that France should be made to feel what she had inflicted on others ; that since undeserved lenity had been received only with ingratitude, the stern law of retribution should have its course. A very long list of proscriptions was at first rendered by the European powers ; and it was with the utmost difficulty that they were reduced, by the efforts of Talleyrand, supported by Lord Castlereagh and the Duke of Wellington, to fifty-eight, of persons to be banished. But banishment was not enough ; the flagrant treason of the Hundred Days demanded the blood of some of the principal offenders ; and Ney, Labedoyère, and Lavalette were selected to bear the penalty. The first was fixed on as being the most flagrant and guilty of the military delinquents ; the second, as the first who gave the example of treason in the army ; the third, of treachery in the civil department of government. They were brought to trial accordingly, and all three convicted, upon the clearest evidence,* of high treason.¹ The life of Lavalette was saved by the

¹ Cap. Hist.
de la Rest.
iii. 320,
327.

* Two hours before Napoleon's arrival in Paris, Lavalette addressed the following circular to the post-office authorities of France :—" L'Empereur sera à Paris dans deux heures, et peut-être avant. La capitale est dans le plus grand enthousiasme, et quoi qu'on puisse faire, la guerre civile n'aura lieu nulle part. Vive l'Empereur ! *Le Conseiller d'Etat et Directeur Général des Postes, Comte LAVALETTE.*"—CAPEFIGUE, *Histoire de la Restauration*, iii. 325.

heroic devotion of his wife, who visited him in prison, changed dresses with her husband, and thus enabled him to effect his escape ; but Ney and Labedoyère were both executed, and met their fate with that heroic courage which never fails deeply to impress mankind.

After the capitulation of Paris, Talleyrand and Fouché had delivered passports to Marshal Ney, who was at its date within its walls. They were in duplicate, and under a feigned name. He left the capital in disguise, and went to Lyons, where Count Bubna, the Austrian governor, agreed to sign other passports for Switzerland, whither Fouché strongly recommended him to retire, at least for a time. He had actually reached Nantua, on the road to Geneva, and in a few hours would have been over the frontier, when, seized with a feeling of shame at the thought of thus leaving his native country with the brand of treason affixed to his forehead, he resolved to remain and brave his fate, whatever it might be. He returned accordingly to the chateau of Bessonis, which belonged to his family. When there, he made no attempt at concealment, publicly wore his decorations, and on the sabre which he constantly had by his side was engraved his name. He was arrested in an inn of Cantal by M. Locard, the prefect of the department, who had no orders from government to that effect. Brought to Paris, he underwent two long examinations before M. Decazes, the prefect of police, in which he spoke fully of the disaster of Waterloo, which seemed entirely to absorb his thoughts. He mentioned also his "*fatal day*," as he termed the 13th March, when he signed his proclamation in favour of Napoleon. "I had lost my head," said he ; "I was carried away."¹

How glad soever the government of France might have been to be freed from so embarrassing an affair as the trial of Marshal Ney, it was impossible, after he had been taken, to avoid bringing him to justice. His guilt was self-evident ; he admitted it in the most explicit

CHAP.
XCV.

1815.

28.
Particulars
of Ney's
arrest.
July 6.

¹ Cap. Hist.
de la Rest.
iii. 341,
343. Mem.
of Wellington,
19th
Nov. 1815.
Gurw. xii.
695, 696.

29.
Preliminary
proceedings
before he
was brought
to trial.

CHAP.
XCV.

1815.

terms to M. Decazes.* Such, however, was the glory which surrounded the heroic veteran, that it was no easy matter to get a court to try him. The French government, in the first instance, determined on a council of war, and the duty fell on Marshal Moncey, as the senior marshal, to preside over it. But he declined the painful task, for which he was sentenced to three months' imprisonment, and deprived of his rank. Jourdan was next chosen president; but the council of war, among whom were Massena, Augereau, and Mortier, evaded the difficulty by declaring itself incompetent to the trial, on the ground of its involving a charge of high treason, which could only be conducted before a chamber of peers. This second declinature irritated the government in the highest degree, who considered it, not without reason, as the proof of a preconcerted conspiracy of the imperial party to hold back, at all hazards, the greatest state criminal from justice. It was finally determined to send him to the Chamber of Peers, before whom he was indicted, on the 21st November. He was found guilty, after a long trial, of high treason, by a majority of one hundred and fifty-seven to one, and sentenced to death by a majority of one hundred and thirty-nine to seventeen. In this there was nothing wrong. His guilt was demonstrated beyond the possibility of doubt, and a French court could pay no regard to a capitulation signed only by Blucher and Wellington.¹

But the real difficulty remained behind. In the

¹ *Moniteur*,
7th Dec.
1815, p.
1356. Cap.
Hist. de la
Rest. iii.
350, 394.

* “ ‘J’ai en effet,’ dit-il, ‘baisé la main du roi, sa Majesté me l’ayant présentée en me souhaitant un bon voyage. Le débarquement de Buonaparte me paraissait si extravagant que j’en parlais avec indignation, et que je me servis en effet de cette expression de *Cage-de-fer*. Dans la nuit du 13 au 14 Mars, époque à laquelle je proteste de ma fidélité au roi, je reçus une proclamation toute faite par Buonaparte. *Je la signai*. Avant de lire cette proclamation aux troupes, je la communiquai aux Généraux de *Bourmont* et *Lecourbe*. *De Bourmont fut d’avis qu’il fallait de joindre à Buonaparte*—que les Bourbons avaient fait trop de sottises, qu’il fallait les abandonner. C’était le 14 à midi que je fis la lecture de cette proclamation à Lons-le-Saulnier, mais elle était déjà connue.”—CAPEFIGUE, *Hist. de la Restauration*, iii. 343. *Procès de* NEX, 30, 31.

middle of the process, the counsel of Marshal Ney betook themselves to the twelfth article of the capitulation of Paris, which stipulated that "Individuals who are at present in the capital shall continue to enjoy their rights and liberties, without being *disquieted or prosecuted* in any respect in regard to the functions which they occupy, or *may have occupied*, or to their political conduct or opinions." The idea of doing so came from a third party ; it had not occurred to any of his counsel, able as they were.* Notes were addressed to all the foreign ambassadors at Paris, praying their interposition ; and Madame Ney requested and obtained an interview with the Duke of Wellington on the subject. With all a woman's fervour, she insisted on the twelfth article of the capitulation on behalf of her unhappy husband ; but the Duke replied that he was not a member of the government of France, and had no title to interfere with its functions ; that the capitulation was purely a military act, intended to protect the inhabitants of Paris against the vengeance of the victorious armies : that it was obligatory only on the Allied sovereigns who had ratified it, but that Louis XVIII. had not done so. "My lord," replied Madame Ney, "was not the taking possession of Paris by Louis XVIII., in virtue of the capitulation, equivalent to a ratification ?"—"That is the affair of the King of France," replied the Duke : "apply to him." She did so, and threw herself at the monarch's feet, but without effect.^{1†}

CHAP.
XCV.
1815.
30.
Unsuccessful application to the Duke of Wellington.

¹ Cap. Hist. de la Rest. iii. 374, 375.

At half-past eleven on the night of the 5th December the sentence was expected by Marshal Ney. He supped

* MM. Berryer and Dupin.

† The following letter was addressed by the Duke of Wellington to Marshal Ney, in answer to a note from Marshal Ney, claiming exemption from being tried by Louis XVIII., in consequence of the 12th article of the capitulation of Paris :—"I have had the honour of receiving the note which you addressed to me on the 13th of November, relating to the operation of the capitulation of Paris on your case. The capitulation of Paris of the 3d of July was made between the commander-in-chief of the allied British and Prussian armies on the one part, and the Prince d'Echmuhl, commander-in-chief of the French

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1815.

31.

His heroic
death.

calmly, with his usual appetite, smoked a cigar, as was his custom, and fell asleep. Some hours after, he was wakened with the intelligence of his condemnation. "I have a melancholy duty to discharge," said M. Comley, who brought it to the marshal.—"Do your duty," replied he, calmly; "every one has his own to discharge in this world." When the preamble was read out, which contained an enumeration of the titles he had won during his glorious career, he said hastily—"To the point; what is the use of all that? Say simply, Michel Ney, soon a little dust; that is all." He requested the assistance of a minister of religion, which was granted; and the Curé of St Sulpice attended him in his last moments. The sentence was executed at nine in the following morning. Being brought in a carriage to the place selected in the gardens of the Luxembourg, near a wall, the marshal stood erect, with his hat in his left hand, and his right on his heart, and, facing the soldiers, exclaimed, "My comrades, fire on me!" He fell, pierced by ten balls. The place of his execution is still to be seen in the gardens of the Luxembourg; and few spots in Europe will excite more melancholy emotions in the mind of the traveller.¹

¹ Biog.
Univ. xxxi.
198, (Ney.)
Cap. Hist.
de la Rest.
370, 484.
Moniteur,
8th Dec.
1815, p.
1359.

32.
Reflections
on this
event.

The death of Ney is a subject which the English historian cannot dismiss without painful feelings. His guilt was self-evident; and never perhaps was the penalty of the law inflicted upon one for a political offence who more richly deserved his fate. But the question of difficulty is, Whether or not he was protected by the capitulation,

on the other, and related exclusively to the military occupation of Paris.

"The object of the 12th article was to prevent the adoption of any measures of severity, under the military authority of those who made it, towards any persons in Paris, on account of offices which they had filled, or their conduct, or their political opinions. But it never was intended, and could not be intended, to prevent either the existing French government, under whose authority the French commander-in-chief must have acted, or any French government which should succeed it, from acting in this respect as it might deem fit."—WELLINGTON to MARSHAL NEY, 19th Nov. 1815; GURWOOD, xii. 694.

lation of Paris. The clause in that treaty has been already given, which expressly declares that no person should be molested for his political opinions or conduct during the Hundred Days ; and it is very difficult to see how this clause could be held as not protecting Ney, who was within the city at the time of the treaty. Wellington and Blucher concluded the capitulation : their sovereigns ratified it : Louis XVIII. took benefit from it. He entered Paris the very day after the English army, and established himself in the Tuileries, under the protection of their guns. How, then, can it be said that he, as well as the Allied sovereigns, were not bound by the treaty, especially in so vital and irreparable a matter as human life—and that the life of such a man as Marshal Ney ? It is very true a great example was required ; true, Ney's treason was beyond that of any other man ; true, the Revolutionists required to be shown that the government could venture to punish. But all that will not justify the breach of a capitulation.

The very time when justice requires to interpose is, when great interests or state necessity are urgent on the one hand, and an unprotected criminal exists on the other. To say that Louis XVIII. was not bound by the capitulation, that it was made by the English general without his authority, and that no foreign officer could tie up the hands of an independent sovereign, is a quibble unworthy of a generous mind, and which it is the duty of the historian invariably to condemn. True, the French peers could not pay attention to a capitulation signed by Wellington and Blucher ; but were Louis XVIII. and his ministers not bound by it, when they entered Paris the day after the English army, without firing a shot, in virtue of its provisions ? It is impossible for a sovereign power, any more than for a private individual, to approbate and reprobate, as lawyers say, the same deed ; to take benefit by it so far as it advances their interests, and discard it so far as it ties

CHAP.
XCV.

1815.

33.

It was unjustifiable on the part of the French government.

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1815.

up their hands. This was what Nelson said at Naples, and what Schwartzenberg said at Dresden; and subsequent times have unanimously condemned the violation of these two capitulations. Banished from France, with his double treason affixed to his forehead, Ney's character was irrecoverably withered; but to the end of the world his guilt will be forgotten in the tragic interest and noble heroism of his death.

34.
Reflections
on the Duke
of Wellington's
conduct in this
affair.

These observations apply to the French government, and the part which it took in this melancholy transaction. But Great Britain was also more remotely implicated in it; and to the Duke of Wellington, as the commander of the army of occupation, possessed of great influence with the French government, and actually at the moment at Paris, a certain share of the responsibility undoubtedly attaches. He was bound in honour, it is said by the imperial party, to have interfered to vindicate his own capitulation; and, situated as the King of France was, just restored by his arms, and supported by his troops, his interposition could not have failed to prove successful. The friends of the Duke answer that the capitulation was entirely a military convention, and as such religiously observed by him; that it gave him no title to interfere with the acts of the French government, an independent power; and that, placed at the head of the European army by the unanimous appointment of its sovereigns, it was impossible for him to take any public step in a matter of this description, contrary to the united voice of the diplomatic body in Paris, which was strongly pronounced against Marshal Ney. In private, it is added, and there is reason to believe it is true, he made the greatest exertions to save him; but, from the exasperated state of the Royalist party in the French cabinet, without success.

It is evident, from this statement of the question, that what is charged against the Duke of Wellington is a fault of omission, not commission; not what he did,

but what he left undone. Opinion will probably for ever remain divided upon this point, according as men incline to the strict observance of military duty, or to those warmer feelings which prompt, in whatever rank, and at whatever hazard, to the generous side. Probably time may show that the statement made as to the private intercession is well founded. But, if it should not do so, still, while history may lament that the opportunity of doing a generous deed was lost, it must do justice to the motives on which it was abstained from. It has been, from first to last, a ruling principle of the Duke of Wellington's conduct to confine himself to his own department, and avoid all interference with the duties or actions of other men or authorities. Obedience and fidelity to government, even when he deems it wrong, has ever been with him the first of obligations ; and it has been founded not on any desire of individual elevation, but on a strong sense of military and patriotic duty. No doubt can exist that it was this feeling which made Wellington abstain from any public interposition in favour of Marshal Ney, for never was there a conqueror whose whole career was so distinguished by moderation and clemency in the use of victory.

Another of the paladins of the French empire perished shortly before, under circumstances to which the most fastidious sense of justice can take no exception. Tormented with the thirst for power, and the desire to regain his dominions, Murat was foolhardy enough to make a descent on the coast of Naples with a few followers, in order to excite a revolt among his former subjects against the Bourbon government. It entirely failed, and he was made prisoner on the beach, within a few minutes after he landed. He was tried by a military commission, under a law which he himself had introduced, condemned, and executed. None could deny the justice, however much they might lament the tragic issue of his fate. So ignorant was he of the real state of

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XCV.

1815.

35.

Opinion of
the author
on the sub-
ject.

36.

Seizure and
execution of
Murat.

CHAP.
XCV.

1815.

Oct. 13.

the public mind regarding him, and so much deluded by the extraordinary confidence he had in his good fortune, that on the evening before his execution, he was speaking of negotiating as an independent power with the King of the Two Sicilies ; and said, " I shall only preserve my kingdom of Naples, and my cousin will gain that of Sicily." When informed that sentence of death had been pronounced against him, he for a moment lost his firmness, and burst into tears. The religious assistance, however, which he received from the Canon Masdea, soon induced him to submit with resignation to his fate. On the following morning, the 13th October, after having written an affectionate letter to his wife, he was brought into a hall of the castle of Pizzo for execution, where twelve grenadiers were drawn up. He would not permit his eyes to be bandaged, but himself gave the word of command, saying, " Spare the face : straight to the heart ! " a singular instance of the " ruling passion strong in death." With these words he fell dead, still holding in his hands the miniatures of his wife and children, with which he went to death. He was privately buried in the church of Pizzo. However humanity may mourn his doom, reason must admit its justice ; for he suffered the penalty which, seven years before, in the square of Madrid, he had inflicted on so many noble patriots, striving to rescue their country from foreign thralldom, by a law which he himself had introduced to protect his ill-gotten throne, and in attempting to regain that very royalty which he sacrificed these noble men to attain.¹ *

¹ Biog.
Univ. voce
Murat, xxx.
431. *Ante*,
ch. lii. § 67.

These alternate scenes of triumph and mourning—of exultation to their enemies, and humiliation to themselves—were little calculated to confirm the Bourbon family in their possession of the throne of France, or

* "—Infelix imbuat auctor opus.
Justus uterque fuit : neque enim lex æquior ulla
Quam necis artifices arte perire suâ."

smooth down the difficulties with which the Restoration was attended. In truth, these difficulties had now become such, that it was beyond the power of the greatest human ability to surmount them; and probably no efforts of wisdom would have given the restored family a durable tenure of the throne. "The house of Bourbon," it has been eloquently and truly said, "was placed in Paris, at the Restoration, as a trophy of the European confederation. The return of the ancient princes was inseparably associated in the public mind with the cession of extensive provinces—with the payment of an immense tribute—with the occupation of the kingdom by hostile armies—with the emptiness of those niches in which the gods of Athens and Rome had been the objects of a new idolatry—with the nakedness of those walls on which the Transfiguration had shone with light as glorious as that which overhung Mount Tabor. They came back to a land in which they could recognise nothing. The seven sleepers of the legend, who closed their eyes when the Pagans were persecuting the Christians, and woke when the Christians were persecuting the Pagans, did not find themselves in a world more completely new to them. Twenty years had done the work of twenty generations. Events had come thick—men had lived fast. The old institutions and the old feelings had been torn up by the roots. There was a new church founded and endowed by the usurper; a new nobility, whose titles were taken from the fields of battle disastrous to the ancient line; a new chivalry, whose crosses had been won by exploits which seemed likely to make the banishment of the emigrants perpetual; a new code was administered by a new magistracy; a new body of proprietors held the soil by a new tenure; the most ancient local distinctions had been effaced; the most familiar names had become obsolete. There was no longer a Normandy, a Brittany, or a Guienne. The France of Louis XVI. had passed away as completely as one of

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1815.

37.

Extraordi-
nary difficul-
ties which
beset the
government
of the Res-
toration.

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1815.

the Preadamite worlds. Its fossil remains might now and then excite curiosity ; but it was as impossible to put life into the old institutions, as to animate the skeletons which are imbedded in the depths of primeval strata. The revolution in the laws and in the form of government was but an outward sign of that mighty revolution which had taken place in the minds and hearts of men, and which affected every transaction and feeling of life. It was as absurd to think that France could again be placed under the feudal system, as that our globe could be overrun by mammoths. The French, whom the emigrant prince returned to govern, were no more like the French of his youth, than the French of his youth were like the French of the Jacquerie. He might substitute the white flag for the tricolor—he might efface the initials of the Emperor—but he could not turn his eyes without seeing some object which reminded him he was a stranger in the palace of his fathers.”¹

¹ Macaulay's
Essays, ii.
230.

38.
Great in-
crease in
them from
the victory
of Water-
loo.

In addition to these difficulties, which attached to the government of the Restoration from the very outset, and which would have existed although Napoleon had never returned from Elba, and the disaster of Waterloo had never been incurred, there were other embarrassments of a peculiar kind which arose from that disaster itself, and never, in general feeling, could be separated from it. More passionately desirous than any people in Europe of military glory, the French never could be brought to separate, in their views of it, the Restoration from the humiliations which had preceded or accompanied it. By an illusion not unnatural, though perfectly unjust, they associated Napoleon, who had brought on all the disasters, with the days of their glory, and Louis, though he had come only to stay the uplifted hand of conquest, with those of their mourning. Had the great conqueror remained on the throne, and the payment of the tribute, the evacuation of the fortresses, the occupation of the territory, taken place under his government, the lustre of

the triumphs of the earlier parts of his reign would have been dimmed, perhaps extinguished, by the mortifications of its close ; for it is by the last impressions that the permanent opinion of mankind is always formed. But, fortunately for his fame—unfortunately for the Bourbons—the course of events caused nearly all the glory to be won under the guidance of the former, and all the humiliation to be experienced under the sway of the latter. Hence the difficulties of their government, their unpopularity, their fall. Coincidence in point of time is invariably considered by the great body of mankind as indicative of cause and effect. It belongs to a few only to perceive that, in the political world, seeds sown generally do not produce their destined fruits during the lifetime of those who planted them : it was from Mount Sinai alone that it was announced that God will visit the sins of the fathers upon the children to the third and fourth generation.

France prospered to an extraordinary and unprecedented degree during the fifteen years which followed the battle of Waterloo, under the mild and pacific rule of the Bourbons. Without any remarkable ability on the part of the administrations which during that period were called to the head of affairs—of which those of the Duc de Richelieu, M. Villete, and M. Martignac were the most remarkable—the simple cessation from war, the termination of revolution, the establishment of a regular government, brought unheard-of prosperity to all the industrious classes. The tranquillity and rest of that brief period almost concealed the effects, so far as material resources are concerned, as in the rising generation they wellnigh obliterated the recollection, of the disasters which had preceded it. From 1803 to 1815, a sum equal to £240,000,000 sterling had been expended by France from its own resources on foreign wars, besides a much larger amount extracted by military execution from conquered states. £60,000,000 sterling had been lost to its

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1815.

39.
Extraordi-
nary losses
of France
under the
Empire.

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1815.

¹ Dupin,
Force Com-
merciale de
la France,
i. 3, 11,
Introd.

inhabitants by the two invasions of 1814 and 1815, and above £60,000,000 had been paid as the contribution for the last peace. From 1793 to 1815, a million and a half of its people had perished in war, besides half a million who were in captivity in foreign states at its close. The commerce of France was ruined; its capital, in all but a few wealthy bankers, wellnigh gone; and its navy reduced from eighty-three to thirty-five ships of the line.¹

40.
And mate-
rial prospe-
rity during
the Restora-
tion, which
yet failed to
save it.

Yet, such was the effect of peace and repose, that in the next fifteen years not only were all these losses repaired, but the industrious classes had attained an unparalleled degree of comfort and prosperity. In 1827, the population had increased two millions and a half above what it had been in 1815; and yet, such had been the simultaneous growth of productive industry, that the common complaint was that subsistence was too abundant. Commerce and manufactures in every branch had revived, and made unprecedented progress;* the revenue derived

* Table showing the exports and imports of France in the under-mentioned years:—

	IMPORTS.				EXPORTS.		
	Francs.				Francs.		
1787	551,051,100	or	£22,000,000	nearly.	440,124,200	or	£17,200,000
1788	517,073,800	—	20,700,000		465,761,000	—	18,600,000
1789	576,589,000	—	23,100,000		440,975,000	—	17,600,000
1808	320,118,895	—	12,850,000		331,330,832	—	13,300,000
1809	288,495,200	—	11,340,000		332,312,200	—	13,400,000
1810	339,140,300	—	13,200,000		365,647,200	—	14,400,000
1815	199,467,601	—	8,000,000		422,147,776	—	17,000,000 nearly.
1816	242,698,753	—	16,300,000		547,706,317	—	21,700,000
1817	332,374,523	—	13,200,000		464,649,389	—	22,220,000
1828	453,769,337	—	18,120,000		511,215,992	—	20,410,000
1829	483,353,139	—	19,280,000		504,247,629	—	20,200,000
1830	489,242,685	—	19,500,000		452,901,341	—	18,100,000
1834	503,933,048	—	20,120,000		509,992,377	—	20,360,000
1835	520,270,553	—	21,000,000		577,413,633	—	22,900,000
1836	564,391,353	—	22,400,000		628,957,480	—	25,380,000

—*Stat. de la France (Commerce Extérieure,)* pp. 8, 9.

Thus, in 1836, fifty years after the Revolution had begun, the imports of France had not come to equal what they had been in 1789, though the population during the same period had advanced from 25,400,000 to 33,540,000. See *Stat. de la France (Population,)* pp. 155, 199.

from the land taxes had greatly increased, exports had advanced forty per cent, and imports had more than doubled. But all this was as nothing while Mordecai the Jew sat at the king's gate. The white flag floated over the Tuileries, the recollection of Waterloo weighed upon the people. The Restoration gave them prosperity, tranquillity, liberty, unknown alike during the Revolution and the Empire, but it did not give them glory; it did not efface the recollection of former defeat: and thence its fall. Other causes of lesser moment may have contributed, but this was the principal one, and without any other would have produced the same result. It engendered such a feeling of discontent and soreness among the people, as made them ungovernable save by force. The Polignac ministry were driven to the latter alternative, but they set about it without either foresight or ability. They were at once rash and improvident, headstrong and inconsiderate; and the overthrow of the elder branch of the Bourbons was the consequence.

LOUIS XVIII., who was called to the onerous duty of governing France during the ten years of discontent and mortification which followed the Restoration, was a sovereign in many respects well adapted for the difficult duties he was called on to perform. He was not the man who Mr Burke said could alone close the gulf of the Revolution; possibly, if he had been so, his descendants might still have been on the throne. Most certainly he could not be ten hours a-day on horseback, which that great statesman deemed essential to the task. Though only sixty years, when he returned in the train of Wellington and Blücher, he already suffered all the infirmities of age, from his hereditary complaints and unwieldy figure. But he possessed in a remarkable degree the qualities requisite to preserve from shipwreck a weak and unpopular government, in a nation whose warlike propensities, for the time at least, had been damped or worn out. He understood his time; he was a man of the age. Had he

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41.
Character
of Louis
XVIII.

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not been so, he never would have died King of France. He had no great natural talents, and little genius. But he possessed in a very high degree the power of observation, and the capacity of taking lessons from what was passing around him. He had great knowledge, especially in modern history and the course of recent events, and a rare faculty of deducing from them their just conclusions. He had not lived twenty years on the bounty of strangers in vain. Surrounded, when restored to the throne, by the prejudices and passions of the restored nobility, most of whom, in Napoleon's words, "had learned nothing, forgot nothing," he, almost alone, coolly surveyed the realities of his situation, and succeeded in avoiding those shoals which were likely to prove fatal to his newly-acquired power. Amidst the rest and obscurity of peace, he repaired the losses incurred during the whirl and glories of war. He restored the finances, recruited the army, almost re-established the navy. He enabled France, after all the contributions had been paid, to fit out the expedition which in 1823 marched in triumph to Cadiz, and effected a counter-revolution in Spain. He was no common man who in such circumstances could accomplish such a task.¹

¹ Chateaub.
Mélanges
Historiques,
Œuvres, ii.
208.

42.
His weak-
nesses, and
qualities of
heart.

He had, however, some qualities which, though not of themselves material as a set-off to these valuable dispositions, were, for the time at least, calculated to render men insensible to them. His mind was set on little things as well as great; he had a remarkable felicity in the turning of expressions, which sometimes led him into faults. He prided himself as much on complimentary notes addressed to ladies, as on the charter by which he hoped to close the convulsions of the Revolution. Unfortunately too many of these exist, to prove how much he was addicted to this contemptible trifling, under circumstances when his age and infirmities rendered it ridiculous. Like most of the princes of his family, he was much addicted to the pleasures of the table; and, though comparatively tem-

perate in wine, the extraordinary quantity which he had come to eat induced an excessive corpulency, which both impeded his bodily activity, and diminished the respect with which he would otherwise have been regarded. Egotistical, and without keen feelings, he desired tranquillity above everything, and would never take a resolution which endangered it. Without being cruel, he was not humane ; he had nothing grand or generous in his disposition. Like many of his ancestors, he was addicted to favourites ; of whom M. de Blacas and M. Decazes among men, and Madame de Balbi and Madame du Cayta among women, were the most remarkable. He was not revengeful, but subject to occasional, though transient, fits of violent passion. Yet did these peculiarities, which for the time, and to those who were personally acquainted with him, were so injurious to his influence, spring in some degree from dispositions of an amiable kind, and which in a remarkable manner fitted him for the difficult task of ruling France after the Revolution. He had one admirable quality—he knew how to forgive. Patient and courteous, he listened attentively to every representation made to him : indulgent and generous, he remembered faults only to overlook them. It was his *bonhomie* and kindness of heart which induced his frailties as well as his virtues. Prudent and observant, his reign was remarkable rather for the skill with which danger was avoided, than for the ability with which good was induced. But perhaps no qualities could have been so valuable as these in the circumstances in which he was placed. More brilliant ones would probably have led him into hazards which might have proved fatal to his power, as they afterwards did to that of his bold, but inconsiderate, ill-judging successor. History must record of him, with gratitude, that though he had suffered much from his subjects, he gave way, when restored to power, neither to hatred nor revenge ; that, bereaved as he had been of all, he abolished the confiscation of estates ;¹ that, having the means of

¹ Chateaub.
Mel. Hist.
Œuv. ii.
210; and
Mem. vii.
216, 217,
218.

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XCV.

1815.

reascending the throne without conditions, he voluntarily imposed on himself the restraints of a constitutional monarchy, and gave France, in the train of unprecedented misfortunes, what it had sought in vain in the blood of the Revolution and the glories of the Empire.

43.
Cause of
the final
ascendency
of Fouché.

The man who mainly contributed in France itself to the second Restoration was Fouché ; and the history of the Revolution would be imperfect, its chief moral untold, if it did not portray him wielding its destinies in its last stages. Revolutions are made by the great and the bold : the selfish and the astute profit by them. "In such convulsions," says Chateaubriand, "the talent which stands on either side in the front rank is soon crushed ; that which follows alone obtains their direction. It obtains the ascendancy when, having exhausted their energies, the generous and brave have no longer the support of the masses, or the energy of early fervour. But this species of talent belongs only to those whose head is more powerful than their heart ; who conceal themselves for a season in crime in order finally to obtain possession of power."¹ Never was the truth of these words more clearly evinced than in the career of this remarkable man. The great and the good, the aspiring and the generous, the brave and the victorious, who had successively appeared in the course of the Revolution, had all perished from its effects. A premature death alone had preserved Mirabeau from the disgrace of a fall ; Vergniaud and Brissot, Roland and Camille Desmoulins, Danton and Robespierre, had all been executed ; Ney was about to suffer the death of a traitor ; Napoleon, conquered and discrowned, was a prisoner in the hands of his enemies. Two only of the veterans of the Revolution were still erect, and had increased in power and importance with every change that had occurred. These were Talleyrand and Fouché ; not the least able, perhaps the most astute, certainly the most selfish, of all the characters which it produced. To the former, who was the less depraved of

¹ Mel. Hist.
Œuv. ii.
354.

the two, the merit of the Restoration in 1814, to the latter that of 1815, chiefly belongs. Providence had consigned the ultimate direction of the convulsion to the one who had proved himself the basest of its supporters.

Fouché's early biography has been already given;¹ but his character could not be appreciated till the multiplied changes of his extraordinary life had been recounted. So numerous had they been, that one would be tempted to apply to him the line of Virgil:—

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XCV.
1815.

44.
Character of
Fouché.
¹ *Ante*, ch.
xiii. § 96,
note.

“Quomodo teneam mutantem Protea vultum?”*

were it not that, in one respect, he was throughout perfectly consistent. He had one polar star which ever guided his course, and that was *selfishness*. Though deeply steeped in the horrors of the Revolution—a regicide, and stained, like Collot d'Herbois, with the worst atrocities of the executions at Lyons²—he does not appear from his subsequent conduct to have had any remarkable thirst for blood for its own sake. He was only utterly indifferent to it, when required for the purposes of popularity, or likely to conduce to those of ambition. He carefully watched the signs of the times, and invariably, in every instance, fell in with the passions, or coincided with the policy of the ruling power, whether republican or monarchical, in the state. With equal readiness he presided over the demolition of noble edifices, or the shedding of torrents of innocent blood on the banks of the Rhone, and advocated in the council of state of Napoleon, when the reaction had set in, a return to more humane measures. He made no attempt to rescue from the horrors of transportation to Guiana, a hundred and thirty of his Jacobin associates, whom he knew to be innocent of the conspiracy against Napoleon laid to their charge, however deeply stained with other atrocities. He

² *Ante*, ch.
xiii. §§ 96-99.

* “How can I catch Proteus's ever-changing visage?”

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betrayed successively every government by whom he was trusted. Napoleon said to him in the council of state in 1809, on discovering his intrigue with Austria and England, "that his head should fall on the scaffold:" but yet he survived the Emperor's ruin; and after playing the double traitor with him and the Bourbons, before the crisis of Waterloo, he was mainly instrumental in driving him into exile and captivity at the close of the Hundred Days.

45.
Secret of
Fouché's
long-con-
tinued in-
fluence.

The secret of this extraordinary ascendancy of Fouché for so long a period, and of his succeeding ultimately in obtaining the direction of affairs, when all others who had attempted it had perished, is to be found in the unparalleled knowledge which he had acquired of the selfish and wicked in the state. He had belonged to so many parties, had been leagued with so many depraved men, had been privy to so many plots, and accessory to so much iniquity, that he knew more than any man in France of its most desperate characters. It was the extent of this knowledge which recommended him to the First Consul as minister of police, and it was the same qualification which rendered him, in every important crisis which subsequently occurred, indispensable to whatever government rose to the head of affairs. All distrusted, all hated, yet nearly all employed him. When Napoleon set out for Waterloo, he showed by the language he used that he was prepared for the double part Fouché designed to play; but he left him vested with the almost uncontrolled direction of internal affairs. When the Duke of Wellington approached Paris with his victorious army, after the contest was decided in the field, the first thing he did was to enter into communication with Fouché. Both these great leaders were perfectly aware of the treacherous character of the man with whom they were dealing; but still they could not dispense with his services, in the state into which society had sunk in the close of the Revolution. His great art consisted in the sagacity with which

he discerned, in the complicated maze of events, which party was likely to prove victorious, and the dexterity with which he rendered himself so useful to its leaders, that they were in a manner compelled to take him into their employment. True, his reign after the second restoration was not of long duration : in a few months he was supplanted by the Duc de Richelieu, and never again was restored to influence. But that was not because the revolution of its own free will had chosen another leader, but because its faculty of self-direction was gone, and a government had, by force of arms, been imposed on it by the European powers. The last phase of the great convulsion, when under its own direction, be it ever remembered, exhibited all the patriotic leaders destroyed, France conquered, Napoleon in captivity, and FOUCHÉ in possession of the whole power which the nation could bestow.

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It would require volumes to portray the whole effects of the French Revolution, and the wars arising out of it, on the moral, social, and political state of France and the adjoining nations. The time has not yet come when they can be designated with perfect certainty of this designation of them being free from error. The ultimate effects of all great changes in human affairs do not appear for a considerable time after they occur ; and it is from mistaking the first consequences for the last results, that not the least errors in the deductions from history have arisen. Some of the effects are evident on the mere surface of affairs. The power of Russia had been immensely increased during the struggle. A dangerous supremacy had been given to the northern nations in the arbitrament of the affairs of Europe : the Cossacks had learnt the road to Paris ; the Germans had come again, as in the days of Cæsar, in multitudes to cross the Rhine. Poland had disappeared from among the nations ; Prussia had risen from a second to a first-rate power, and contained

46.
Vast moral,
political,
and social
effects of
the French
Revolution.

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within itself the elements of more rapid increase than any state in Europe. Spain and Portugal, exhausted, and not regenerated, by a terrific contest which had consumed their vitals without restoring their spirit, had sunk into a state of political nullity. France in point of territory was equal, and in a few years was superior in population, to what she had been before the Revolution broke out. But her relative strength had declined, as she had not advanced in proportion to the adjoining states ; and the double capture of Paris and dreadful defeats of her armies had seriously impaired her influence. Austria had survived all her disasters, and received a great accession of territory and influence as the reward of her perseverance in the cause. England had emerged great, glorious, and unconquered from the strife. Alone of all the great kingdoms of Europe, her capital had never seen the fires of an enemy's camp. Her colonial empire was quadrupled, and now encircled the earth. Her revenue had risen from £16,000,000 annually to £72,000,000. Her commerce had tripled, her resources doubled, compared with what they had been at the commencement of the war. Her navy had acquired the undisputed command of the seas. But she had a debt of eight hundred millions depressing the energies of her inhabitants, and the seeds of more than one serious, perhaps mortal, distemper implanted in her bosom. But it was in France that the effects of the convulsion were most conspicuous ; and of these, three are so prominent and important as to throw all the others into the shade.

47.
Vast effects
of the con-
fiscation of
the church
property in
France.

The first of these was the total confiscation of the property of the church, and the conversion of the ecclesiastical members, from a powerful body maintained on its own estates, to a needy set of salaried functionaries paid by the state, and occupying a very subordinate place in its establishment. It has been already mentioned, that the property of the church was estimated, when it was confiscated by the Constituent Assembly, at 2,000,000,000

francs, (£80,000,000,) and that its annual revenue was somewhat under 75,000,000 francs, (£3,000,000,) a-year;¹ but, when the Restoration took place, a very different state of things had ensued. Under the Consulate, the sums paid to the whole clergy of France only amounted to 12,000,000 francs (£480,000) a-year; and, with all Napoleon's anxiety to augment that part of the national establishment, it had reached only 18,000,000 francs (£720,000) annually, at the Restoration. The Constituent Assembly had estimated the number of parochial clergy necessary for France at forty-eight thousand, and the annual cost of the religious establishment at 65,000,000 francs, (£2,600,000;) but in 1832, with a population augmented by six millions, there were only thirty-six thousand parish priests, the cost of whose maintenance was annually 33,815,000 francs, (£1,550,000,) yielding only on an average 900 francs, or £36, annually to each incumbent. In the same year, the cost of the army was 339,000,000 francs, or £13,560,000. Nor were the dignified clergy in a different situation, as to worldly advantages, from the parish priests. Few of the bishops now have more than £300 or £400 a-year; and the archbishop of Paris himself, the highest ecclesiastical functionary in France, enjoys an income of only £640, less than a respectable rector of a country parish in England.²

In such a state of matters, there can be no doubt that the French clergy are in no danger of falling into the vices or frailties which impaired the credit and lessened the usefulness of the Established Church of France anterior to the Revolution. There is no risk of pampered prelates dazzling the crowd by their trains of liveried servants, or dubious abbés scandalising society by their ill-disguised vices. But is there no danger of evils still greater arising on the other side? How is talent to be attracted to an establishment where the great body of the functionaries receive less than the wages of a family butler or parish schoolmaster; and the very highest has

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1815.

¹ *Ante*, ch.
vi. § 22.² *Stat. de la*
France,
1835, p.
145. *Ann.*
Hist. xii.
201.48.
Dangers to
which this
exposes
France.

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hardly the emoluments of a well-employed village attorney? How is its respectability even to be maintained, in the midst of a luxurious and selfish generation, which considers wealth as the chief passport to worldly distinction? Is it likely that persons of sense and information will attach any weight to the instructions, or even attend the religious services, of men not elevated in point of station and education above their menial servants? And if *they* continue openly irreligious, or lukewarm in the support of Christianity, is there a hope that the public morals can be preserved in any other way? This result, accordingly, has already ensued in France. The rural population is, for the most part, inclined to devotion, and attached to their parish priests, taken from their own class, and with whom they live on terms of familiarity. The female part of the old nobility are religious, for to be so is a mark of ancient descent: it is fashionable among them, because it distinguishes them from the free-thinking crowd who have been elevated by the Revolution. A few eminent men—such as Chateaubriand, Guizot, Villemain, Amédée Thierry—have brought to the defence of the ancient faith genius of the highest, philosophy of the most exalted kind. But the great mass of the educated citizens in towns, and especially in Paris, are either openly infidel, or utterly indifferent to religion, as a troublesome restraint on their passions. This appears in the most decisive manner from the licentious style of the dramas and romances which have attained, and still enjoy, the highest popularity. It is that body, however, which now rules the state, and will ultimately obtain the general direction of its opinions. Neither rural peasants, nor women of fashion, can long withstand the influence of the cultivated and intellectual men of a nation.

The second circumstance of paramount importance which distinguishes France since the Revolution, is the almost total destruction of the aristocracy of rank and landed property, and the concentration even of com-

mercial wealth in comparatively few hands. That this is the case is universally known, and has been abundantly shown in various parts of this work ; but few are aware of the extraordinary and almost incredible extent to which the devastation has gone. It is sufficient to observe, therefore, that when France had regained a tranquil and prosperous state under the Restoration, by the cessation of the scourge of foreign wars, the annihilation of considerable fortunes, both in land and money, had been so complete, that out of 10,414,000 properties taxed in France, only 17,745 were rated at an assessment of one thousand francs and upwards, (£40) annually, while 7,897,110 were rated at a tax below 21 francs, (16s. 10d.) The Duc de Gaeta, Napoleon's finance minister, whose authority is uncontested on these points, states a tax of 171,579,000 francs (£6,860,000) as corresponding to a revenue in the persons taxed of 1,323,567,000 francs, (£52,940,000)—indicating that, on an average, and taking into view the inequalities of the cadastre, which in some departments render the tax a fifth, in others only a thirteenth of the proprietor's income, the direct tax is about thirteen per cent. In 1815 there were, therefore, on this authority, only 17,745 persons in France, whose income from real property of every description reached 9000 francs, or £360 a-year ; a fact, in a country of such extent and resources, which would be incredible, if not stated on such indisputable authority. Nay, there is reason to believe that the *contribution foncière* is on average twenty per cent over the whole kingdom of the net revenue of proprietors ;¹ in which case, the persons enjoying 5000 francs, or £200, a-year in France from real property, would be only 17,745 ! The great families which have survived the Revolution, and preserved their properties entire, are very few in number ; and so rapid is the division of estates, both in land and money, by the present law of succession in France, that the fortunes made during the convulsion are rapidly melting away. The consequence is, that though there is a

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49.

Total destruction of
the old
landed aristocracy.¹ Peuchot,
286, 287.

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1815.

¹ Duc de
Gaeta, ii.
327, 329.

Chamber of Peers invested with important legislative and judicial powers, it is for the most part destitute of realised property ; its members hold their seats in it for life only, and on the appointment of the crown ; and nine-tenths of them are indebted to its pensions or appointments for the means of maintaining even the moderate establishments which they are able to uphold.¹

50.
Vast effect
of this cir-
cumstance.

It is impossible to over-estimate the effects of such a state of matters in a monarchy erected on the foundation, if not with the materials, of the feudal institutions. Whether society can exist in another form, and a lasting security be afforded to freedom without the element of a body of considerable proprietors existing in the country, cannot yet be affirmed with certainty from the experience of mankind. It can only be said that there is no *example* of its having continued for any length of time without such a counterpoise in society, in any opulent and highly-civilised state ; and that all the institutions of modern Europe have been founded upon a distribution of property and vesting of influence precisely the reverse. A powerful sovereign ; influence depending on employment ; all office flowing from the crown ; the land divided among the peasants ; and the monarch, by the weight of direct taxation, the real landholder of the whole territory—these are the institutions of Asia, not of Europe ; and freedom has ever been unknown in the Oriental dynasties. The effect of the total destruction of the class of considerable proprietors has, since the Restoration, been conspicuous in the choice which the sovereign has been obliged to make of ministers to carry on the government. Louis XVIII. and Charles X. tried to infuse into it a considerable portion of the old noblesse, but this was ere long found to be impracticable ; and on the accession of Louis Philippe, the reins of power fell at once into the hands of journalists and lecturers, of bankers and reviewers. The aristocracy of intellect, or rather of popular talent, came in place of that of property. This is not surpris-

ing: it was the only power, save that of the sovereign, which remained in the state. The physical force of numbers is entirely directed by the mental power of their leaders. That greater ability may in some cases be brought to the direction of affairs in this way, than when rank and possessions are the chief recommendations to power, is undoubtedly true. It will be no easy matter to find parallels to Guizot and Villemain in aristocratic states. But is there an equal security that this ability will permanently be exerted in the right direction? Can able journalists and reviewers, with little property of their own, and no fortune to expect save through the government from the people, be expected, in the long run, to resist the seductions of an executive armed with £40,000,000 a-year, and with a hundred and forty thousand civil offices, besides all the military ones, in its gift? That is the point on which it behoves the friends of freedom to ponder, in other countries which have not yet broken down the aristocracy; for in France it is too late.

One thing is clear, that, in such a state of matters, the upper house, or Chamber of Peers, affords no security whatever against the encroachments either of regal or of popular power. Destitute of possessions, it has not the weight of property; without ancestors, it wants the lustre of history; nominated by the executive, it lacks the respectability of independence. It is an assembly of titled pashas and agas of provinces, and nothing more. It can only be expected to imitate the conduct of the Roman senate under the emperors, and become a convenient veil to shroud from the public eye the reality of despotism, or take on itself the odium of its most obnoxious measures. If any doubt could remain on this subject, it would be removed by the base conduct, on almost all occasions, of the conservative senate of France since the Revolution. It is hard to say whether it fawned with most servility on the First Consul, the Emperor, the government of the Restoration, or that of the Barricades. It was the same

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1815.

51.
Its fatal
effect on the
Chamber of
Peers.

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¹ Chateaub.
Etudes
Hist. ii.
311. Œuv.
iii. 311.

in former days. "Constantine," says Chateaubriand, "formed in his second Rome a patrician body, after the model of the one which so many great citizens had immortalised; but that resuscitated nobility acquired so little consideration, that men were ashamed to belong to it. In vain it was attempted, *by means of pensions, to supply its poverty*—to disguise by respectful titles, dress, and observance, its origin of yesterday. Privileges are not ancestors: man can neither take from himself the descent which he has, nor gain that which he has not. The senators of Constantine remained crushed under the ancient and venerable name of 'Conscript Fathers,' which their recent obscurity only rendered more overwhelming."¹

52.
Immense
subdivision
of the land
of France.

This danger is rendered the more pressing, when it is recollected, in the third place, what a prodigious and unexampled division the Revolution has made in the landed property of France. A considerable part of its territory, estimated by Arthur Young at a fourth of its extent, chiefly in the southern provinces, was always in the hands of the cultivators, and divided, according to the allodial custom derived from the Roman law, into equal portions, or nearly so, on the holder's death. But, by the effects of the Revolution, and the general confiscation of property, lay as well as ecclesiastical, with which it was attended, this state of matters has become all but universal. The immense statistical researches of the French government since 1830, and the admirable digests of them which have been published by the different ministers in that magnificent work, the "Statistique de la France," have now afforded the most ample and authentic information on this all-important subject—a subject so important, indeed, that all other effects of the Revolution sink into the shade in comparison. From its details, it appears that there were, in 1815, 10,083,751 separate landed properties rated in the government books in France, and that this number had increased in 1835, to

10,893,526. There are several of these separate properties, however, which belong to the same person ; but, taking that into view, the government calculate that there are 5,446,763 *separate landed proprietors in France*. Nor is this all : so minute are the portions into which the territory is divided, that there are 2,602,705 families, the revenue of which from land is only fifty francs, or £2 a-year, while only 6684 have an income of above 10,000 francs (£400) annually.* The division of land into such miserably minute portions, without any considerable properties interspersed, is a sufficiently dangerous element in society under any circumstances ; but what must it be in a country where commercial capital has been in a great measure destroyed by preceding convulsions, and the class of considerable proprietors, who might have given employment or wages to these little landowners by whom the country is overspread, have disappeared from the land ?¹

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1815.

¹ Stat de
la France;
Mounier de
l'Agricul-
ture en
France, i.
101.

It need scarcely be observed that, in a country situated as this is, an effective or enlightened system of agriculture is impossible. Capital and enterprise are indispensable to such a blessing ; and where are they to be found among a body of peasants barely maintaining life on an

53.
Deteriora-
tion of
French agri-
culture in
conse-
quence.

* The separate properties were in

1815,	.	.	.	.	10,083,751
1826,	.	.	.	.	10,296,693
1835,	.	.	.	.	10,893,526
2,602,705 families have an income of					50 francs or £2
875,997	.	.	.	of	100 or 4
757,126	.	.	.	of	200 or 8
369,603	.	.	.	of	300 or 12
342,082	.	.	.	of	500 or 20
276,615	.	.	.	of	1,000 or 40
170,579	.	.	.	of	2,000 or 80
23,777	.	.	.	of	5,000 or 200
16,598	.	.	.	of	10,000 or 400
6,684	.	.	.	above	10,000 or 400
5,446,763					

—MOUNIER et RUBICHON, *Agriculture de la France*, i. 101.

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1815.

income of from £2 to £10 a-year each? Garden cultivation, it is true, is the perfection of the management of the soil—all other is but a transition state to it; but there is a wide difference between *garden* and *cottar* cultivation; the former is the last, the latter the first stage of agriculture. To have the garden system in perfection, an ample market for the choice and costly produce of horticulture or the orchard is indispensable. It is that which makes it appear in so delightful a form in Tuscany and the valley of the Arno. But such a market cannot exist without a large body of opulent proprietors, diffused not only through the towns, but over the country; because they alone can afford to purchase the choicer productions of the soil. The confiscations of the Revolution have destroyed such a body in France; the Revolutionary law of succession has rendered its reconstruction impossible, because it continually induces the division of estates. The inhabitants of thirty-nine of the principal towns of France, including Paris, amount now only to *four* millions of inhabitants, out of *thirty-four* million, which the country in all contains. Twenty-three millions of this body are engaged in the cultivation of the soil, and derive their chief if not sole subsistence from that source. The element is wanting in France, therefore, which can alone make the equal division of land consist with general prosperity. This grievous chasm in society has rendered the distribution of the land among the cultivators, which under other circumstances might have been the greatest of all blessings, the greatest of all curses in France: like the Amreeta cup in Kehama, it is the one or the other, according to the circumstances of the people which receive it, and the amount of public virtue by which their proceedings have previously been regulated. It has covered the country, not with Tuscan freeholds, but with Irish crofts: it has induced, not the efflorescence of European freedom, but the decay of Oriental despotism.¹

¹ Mounier,
Agric. de
France, ii.
81.

Clearly as this must appear to be the case, to all who

without prejudice or interest consider the subject, it was hardly to have been expected that the proofs of it were to have been so numerous and decisive as they have become during the period, short in the lifetime of a nation, which has already elapsed since the Revolution. The immense statistical researches of the French government, especially since 1830, have brought them to light; their admirable powers of arrangement have exhibited them, perhaps unconsciously, with overwhelming force. From the reports of the minister of finance in 1839 and 1840, it appears that the number of sales judicially recorded of landed property in France, chiefly to pay taxes or creditors, amounts annually to *above a million*, and that, great as this number is, it is rapidly on the increase, while the successions are less than half the number.* The produce of the tax levied on these sales constitutes a considerable portion of the public revenue; it amounts to from four to five millions sterling a-year. The value of the real property thus annually alienated from the distress of the owners and the parcelling out of land, is so great, that in the ten years which elapsed from 1825 to 1835, it amounted to above twenty-three thousand millions of francs, or £930,000,000—being fifty-nine per cent on the whole value of land in France; and upwards of a half of this immense sum was realised by sales, chiefly judicial, and not by gifts or descent.† It may be conceived what

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XCV.1815.
54.
Proofs of
this from
the state of
France.* *Number of Judicial Sales of Land.*

			Produce of tax.	
In 1837,	1,163,626	.	79,348,552 fr.	or £3,200,000
In 1838,	1,176,563	.	85,622,449 fr.	— 3,420,000
<i>Successions.</i>				
In 1837,	522,221	.	30,764,124 fr.	— 1,230,000
In 1838,	502,389	.	32,738,013 fr.	— 1,309,000

—*Rapport du Ministre des Finances*, 1839 and 1840; MOUNIER, i. 130, 131.

† Value of Lands alienated from 1825 to 1835 by inheritance, gift, and sale.

Inheritance,	.	.	.	9,317,287,867 fr.	or £372,000,000 nearly.
Gift,	.	.	.	2,145,199,412 fr.	— 85,800,000
Sale,	.	.	.	11,885,799,262 fr.	— 475,000,000

Total, . . . 23,348,286,541 fr. — £932,800,000

—*Tableau du Ministre des Finances*, par M. MARTIN, 1837; MOUNIER, i. 111.

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1815.

a mass of litigation and law expenses so prodigious a transference of landed property in so short a time in such minute portions must have occasioned, and how it must have contributed to enrich the army of eighty thousand notaries, attorneys, and other legal men by whom these proceedings were conducted. There are in France 43,000,000 of hectares, (108,000,000 acres,) cultivated by 4,800,000 families—being on an average $5\frac{1}{2}$ hectares, or 13 acres to each; but of these, 3,000,000 cultivate 10,000,000 hectares, or 22,500,000 acres—being $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres to each family.* It is among this numerous class of little proprietors that the voluntary and judicial sales are most frequent, from their extreme poverty, which keeps them constantly on the verge of pauperism. So wretched is the system of cultivation which they pursue, that their little domains do not on an average furnish them with food for more than *fifty days* in the year: while, being surrounded by other families as necessitous as themselves, they find the utmost difficulty in getting employment to pay for the subsistence of the remainder, and generally are obliged to travel far for that purpose. The mass of mortgages or debts heritably secured in France on the land is eleven *milliards of francs*, or £440,000,000, the annual charges of which are 600,000,000 francs, or £24,000,000. The land tax is about 300,000,000 francs, (£12,000,000,) and the law expenses and taxes connected with transfers of heritable property,¹ about 200,000,000,

¹ Mounier, i. 170 and 295, 296.
Porter's Progress of the Nation, i. 72, 73.

* The 43,000,000 hectares of cultivable land in France are thus distributed:—

	Hectares.	Acres.
3,200,000 families with 3 hectares or $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres each,	10,000,000	or 25,000,000
800,000 — 13 — 32 —	10,000,000	or 25,000,000
1,000,000 — cultivating the soil as follows, viz.:		
Metayers paying half the fruits,	15,000,000	or 37,500,000
By middlemen with power to sub-let,	3,000,000	or 7,500,000
By middlemen without power to sub-let,	5,000,000	or 12,500,000
5,000,000 families cultivating	43,000,000	107,500,000

The remaining 446,000 owners of real property in France to make up the total amount of 5,446,763, are owners of houses in towns or villages.—MOUNIER, i. 295.

or £8,000,000 more—leaving only 480,000,000 francs, or £19,200,000, of clear revenue to the whole landholders of the country, although the net produce of the land is 1,580,000,000 francs, or £63,000,000 a-year. This gives, on an average, of *clear income* to each of the five millions and a half of proprietors, less than FOUR POUNDS ANNUALLY.

Proofs, equally convincing, crowd on all sides to show how much the condition of the people of France, and the cultivation of the soil, has been deteriorated by this extraordinary, and, in Europe at least, unprecedented state of things. From the reports of the minister of the interior, it appears that the total produce of grain crops in France in 1836 was 181,000,000 hectolitres, equivalent to 60,000,000 quarters; of which about 70,000,000 hectolitres, (23,300,000 quarters) are wheat.* The total area of France being 51,893,000 hectares, or 126,000,000 acres, of which 13,831,000 hectares, or 31,000,000 acres, are under grain crops,† it follows that the average produce

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55.
Deterioration in the condition of the French people and their agriculture in consequence.

* The quantities of the several kinds of grain annually raised in France are as follows :—

	Hectolitres.	or	Qrs.
Wheat, . . .	69,154,463	—	23,051,484
Barley, . . .	16,444,030	—	5,481,316
Oats, . . .	48,899,652	—	16,277,884
Meslin, . . .	11,824,914	—	3,941,304
Maize, . . .	7,610,280	—	2,543,423
Spelt, . . .	132,055	—	44,015
Rye, . . .	27,772,613	—	9,257,534
	181,842,079		60,597,954
Potatoes, . . .	96,180,714	—	32,060,240

—*Statistique de la France, art. Agriculture, 63.*

† Area of France under

	Hectares.	or	Acres.
Wheat . . .	6,546,869	—	14,000,000
Spelt, . . .	4,733	—	9,781
Barley, . . .	1,164,632	—	3,032,000
Oats, . . .	3,000,623	—	7,514,262
Rye, . . .	2,573,100	—	7,560,000
Maize, . . .	631,194	—	1,534,231
Meslin, . . .	910,426	—	2,342,000
In grain, . . .	13,831,877	—	32,800,000
Potatoes, . . .	920,689	—	2,280,000
Buck wheat, . . .	651,235	—	1,564,000

—MOUNIER, i. 309, 313.

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1815.

¹ M'Culloch's British Empire, i. 476.

² Census of 1841. Occupation Abstracts, pp. 14, 15, 21.

of an acre is under *two quarters*, while the average produce in England is two quarters and five bushels, and in Scotland, with a much inferior climate, *three quarters*. The entire profits of cultivation in France from 124,000,000 acres, are £63,000,000, or not quite *ten shillings an acre*; while in England, 32,332,000 acres yield an annual *rental* of £45,753,000, or about £1, 8s. an acre, besides the profit of the farmer, probably 12s. an acre more : in all 40s. an acre, or *four times* that in France.^{1*} The difference in the productive power of agricultural industry in the two countries is still more striking : for while in France 5,000,000 families engaged in agriculture furnish subsistence, and less than 2,500,000 families are engaged in other pursuits—in other words, two cultivators feed themselves and one other person not occupied with the production of subsistence ; in Great Britain, by the last census, (1841,) the number of persons above twenty engaged in agriculture, was only 1,138,563, and they furnished subsistence to 3,492,336 above twenty engaged in other pursuits—in other words, *one* agriculturist fed himself and three other male persons not engaged in raising subsistence.^{2†} The produce of agricultural labour, therefore, measured per head of agricultural labourers, is SIX TIMES greater in Great Britain than in France : an astonishing fact, when it is recollected that the two nations are about the same age ; that the superiority of climate is on

* *Parl. Papers*, 1845, Commons, moved for by Mr Newdegate.

† The proportion of agricultural families to the other classes is rapidly decreasing in Great Britain ; but still the national produce was, down to the repeal of the Corn Laws, save in bad seasons, equal or nearly so to the national subsistence. They have stood for the last forty years as follows :—

Years.	Agricultural.	Commercial.	Miscellaneous.	Total not agricultural.
1811	35 per cent.	44 per cent.	21 per cent.	65
1821	33 ...	46 ...	21 ...	67
1831	28 ...	42 ...	30 ...	72
1841	22 ...	46 ...	32 ...	78

—*Census*, p. 14 ; *Preface to Occupation Abstracts*.

the part of the latter country ; and that, previous to the abolition of protection to British agriculture, the two islands were, in ordinary seasons, self-supporting. And such has been the deterioration in the breed of horses in consequence of the diminished size of farms, and swarms of indigent cultivators with which the country has been overspread, that the great military monarchy of France, which in 1812 sent a hundred thousand horses into Russia, and in 1815, from its own resources alone, produced the splendid cavalry, eighteen thousand strong, which at Waterloo all but replaced Napoleon on the imperial throne, is now obliged to import sometimes as many as 40,000 horses from foreign states in a single year, and the purchases abroad for the cavalry alone are seldom under *thirty-seven thousand*, which cost the state commonly from half a million to a million sterling.^{1*}

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1815.

It would be some consolation, amidst so many disheartening facts, if it appeared that the moral and intellectual character had been raised, and the material comforts of the French people ameliorated by the Revolution ; but so far is this from being the case, that both appear to have undergone a decided change for the worse from its effects. Many sources of corruption among the great have been closed, many causes of oppression among the poor removed, by that convulsion ; but human wickedness has opened others still more pernicious in their consequences, because more widespread in their effects. In the year 1815, out of 25,601 births in the metropolitan department of the Seine, no less than 5080 were admitted into the foundling hospital in the course of the year ; and the total number in that establishment at the end of the

56.
Diminished
morality
among the
people of
France.

* In ten years from 1831 to 1840, there have been imported into France
346,181 horses ; on an average a-year, 38,164
Exported 71,973, or annually 7,997
Cavalry horses bought in 1831, 37,038 which cost 17,808,342 fr. or £712,000
— — 1848, 37,643 — 23,128,253 or 920,000

—MOUNIER, ii. 110. From *Statistique de la France, vocé Agriculture*.

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year was 11,391. In the year 1841 the total births in the same department were 37,951, and those in the foundling hospital at the end of the year, 13,768. In the department of the Rhone, embracing Lyons, the number of foundlings at the end of the same year was 9846, while the total births were only 16,015. The total foundlings over France from 1831 to 1835 were 618,849, and the total births during the same period 4,874,778; giving an average of about 103,000 for the former and 774,955 for the total births, or about 1 to $7\frac{1}{2}$. Since that period the number has diminished: out of 4,794,703 births from 1836 to 1840, the foundlings are 486,950, or nearly a tenth.¹ These are the numbers of the foundlings in France: the births of natural children are much more considerable, and in the chief cities of the country are about half the legitimate ones.^{2*} The increase of natural births over all France is greatly more rapid than that of legitimate ones.† In 1841 the number of persons admitted into the hospitals of Paris was 105,087,

¹ Stat. de la France Adm. Publique, pp. 89 to 143.

² Stat. de la France, Adm. Publique, 227.

Years.	LEGITIMATE BIRTHS.			NATURAL BIRTHS.			TOTAL.		
	Paris.	Lyons.	Bordeaux.	Paris.	Lyons.	Bordeaux.	Paris.	Lyons.	Bordeaux.
1825	19,214	3354	2375	10,039	1965	1170	29,253	5319	3545
1826	19,468	3637	2563	10,502	2022	1214	29,970	5659	3777
1827	19,414	3547	2508	10,392	2093	1164	29,806	5640	3672
1828	19,126	3712	2520	10,475	1966	1283	29,601	5678	3803
1829	18,568	3548	2488	9,953	1980	1156	28,521	5438	3644
1830	18,580	3361	2594	10,007	1836	1239	28,587	5197	3833
1831	19,152	3550	2441	10,378	1940	1270	28,930	5490	3678
1832	17,046	4470	2264	9,237	1814	1215	26,283	6284	3479
1833	18,113	4821	2489	9,347	1925	1228	27,460	6746	3717
1834	19,119	5014	2484	9,985	1849	1236	29,104	6863	3780
1835	19,361	5233	2967	9,959	1952	947	29,320	7185	3854

—Stat. de la France—Territoire, Population, 421, 460.

† Foundlings over France:—

	Legitimate.	Foundlings.	Total.
In 1800, . . .	862,053 . . .	41,635 . . .	903,608
1810, . . .	879,632 . . .	52,783 . . .	931,799
1820, . . .	893,727 . . .	66,254 . . .	959,981
1830, . . .	899,015 . . .	68,985 . . .	968,000
1835, . . .	919,106 . . .	74,727 . . .	993,833

—Stat. de la France—Territoire, Population, 367, 371, 380.

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and the deaths in the hospitals 15,583, while the total number of deaths in the metropolis in the same year was only 24,524. In other words, *nearly two-thirds of the population die in public hospitals*. The stage, that faithful mirror of the public taste, as well as the novels generally popular, sufficiently explain the state of the national mind which has produced these deplorable results. There is a lamentable change from the works of Corneille and Racine to the suicides, incests, and adulteries dramatised by Victor Hugo and Dumas. It is customary to lament in France that, notwithstanding all the efforts made to extend public instruction, two-thirds of the people can still neither read nor write; but, judging from the demoralising tendency of the popular works in the capital, it is perhaps happy for them that they are unable to inhale the intoxicating poison. It is probably to that cause that the superior morality of the provinces, compared with the capital and other great towns, is to be ascribed. Certain it is that in all the eighty-three departments of France, without exception, the amount of convicted crime is *just in proportion to the diffusion of education*; and that the great majority of the ladies of pleasure in Paris come from the northern departments, which are incomparably the best instructed in the whole kingdom.*

The material comforts of the French people have not gained by the Revolution, any more than their moral character has been elevated. In his report on the average consumption of meat in France, the minister of the interior confesses, that the ration of each inhabitant in animal food is *not a third* of what it is in Great Britain;†

57.
Diminished
material
comforts of
the French
people.

* See the curious tables of M. Guerry, Paris 1834, where this extraordinary fact is fully demonstrated. They may be found also in Bulwer's *France*, i. 180, 181.

† Even in the towns of the departments containing 10,000 inhabitants and upwards, which of course embrace the part of the population where the consumption of animal food per head is greatest, the average consumption of butcher-meat in France in 1816 was 50.53 kilogrammes per head; while in England the average of the whole country is 68. Such as it is, the consump-

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¹ Mounier,
ii. 32, 34, 40.

in France it is twenty kilogrammes a-year ; in England sixty-eight. Each Frenchman consumes on an average sixteen ounces of wheaten bread a-day ; each Englishman thirty-two : the former one ounce and two-thirds of meat, the latter six ounces.¹ The statistical tables from which these interesting results are obtained, are among the most extraordinary monuments of human industry and skilful arrangement that ever were made : they speak volumes as to the effects of the Revolution on the comforts of the middle and working classes. No abridgment of them is practicable : they must be judged of for themselves in the magnificent statistical archives published by government, which do so much honour to the administration of France. Even in the great cities, where, if anywhere, the fruits of the Revolution may be supposed to have been reaped, since it was they which proved victorious in the strife, the same result is observable. Paris itself—though it has become in every sense the heart and centre of France, and obtained the entire direction of its government—has shared in the general reverse ; it has increased in population, but declined in the comforts of the inhabitants. The desperate competition of industry, the destruction of the great fortunes which consumed its fruits, have induced a deplorable equality in indigence among its inhabitants. The annual consumption of beef by each inhabitant of Paris is now little more than *half* of what it was in 1789 before the Revolution broke out ; at present it is only twenty-four kilogrammes, it was then forty-seven. From the year 1801 to 1829 eighty-five thousand oxen and cows on an average were annually killed in Paris ; the average from 1829 to 1839 was

tion per head has declined in the last thirty years. That of the northern departments, embracing Paris with a population of 1,000,000 souls, was in

	Population.	Kil. consumed.	Average per head.
1816, . . .	1,193,000 . . .	74,896,871 . . .	62.78
1820, . . .	1,184,000 . . .	77,630,907 . . .	60.284
1833, . . .	1,532,783 . . .	85,630,686 . . .	55.86

—*Statistique de la France*, (*Archives Statist.*) 203, 219.

only sixty-nine thousand, although in the intervening period the population had increased by two hundred and eighty-four thousand souls. From a report on the supply of animal food in the metropolis, prepared by a royal commission in 1841, and presented to government, it appears that while the population of Paris has increased from five hundred thousand to one million between 1789 and 1840, the supply of animal food to its inhabitants has *not materially increased*; in other words, the share falling to each individual has been reduced to little more than a half.* The difference has been made up by the increased use of potatoes, rye, and inferior food. This process of deterioration is still rapidly advancing, alike in the quantity, weight, and quality of the animals consumed in Paris. Such have been the results of the Revolution to the people of the victorious metropolis. Beyond all question, it is in the pinching thus experienced by the working classes in the metropolis, in consequence of their having been deprived, from the division of property in the country, of the natural vent for the produce of their labour among its owners, that the main cause of the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848 is to be found.¹

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¹ Mounier, ii. 153, 165, 201. Stat. de la France, (Archives Stat.) 190, 201.

France, then, after having gone through the ordeal of a Revolution, presents a spectacle of the most extraordinary and instructive kind: she stands forth as a beacon

* Table showing the consumption of animal food in Paris in the following years:—

Years.	Population.	Oxen.	Cows.	Calves.	Sheep.
1637	...	...	...	67,800	368,000
1688	...	...	...	115,000	...
1722	500,000	70,000	...	...	...
1779	600,000	77,000	...	120,000	...
1789	524,186	70,000	18,000	120,000	350,000
1812	622,636	72,268	6,929	76,154	347,568
1835	885,558	71,634	16,439	78,947	364,875
1840	1,000,000	71,718	20,684	73,113	437,359

—*Rapport par la Commission Royale*, 13th August 1841—given in MOUNIER, ii. 175-201.

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1815.
58.

General
social and
domestic
results of
the Revolution in
France.

and a warning to all the other states of the world ; for herself the warning is past. She has listened to the tempter ; she has eaten of the forbidden fruit, and she is receiving the appropriate punishment. The king has been guillotined, the dynasty changed, the church property confiscated, the aristocracy destroyed, commercial wealth ruined, two-thirds of the national debt repudiated, the land divided, monopoly and exclusive privilege of every kind annihilated. All the objects of the promoters of the Revolution have been gained ; all the supposed evils of European civilisation have been removed. And what has been the result ? Not an increase, but a diminution of general felicity ; not an augmentation of rural industry, but a falling off in it ; not the purification of morals, but their deterioration ; not the extension of general liberty, but its contraction ; not a decrease of the public burdens, but their duplication. A desperate competition has arisen among the working-classes themselves, which has led to such disorders, that a large and permanent addition to the standing army and public expenses has become unavoidable. A vast body of troops must be constantly kept on foot ; not for the purpose of foreign conquest, but domestic tranquillity. They are armed policemen. Their enemies are not the Cossacks, but the Red Republicans. Paris alone has from fifty to eighty thousand of these formidable guardians of the public peace constantly within its bounds. The civil employés, not less than a hundred and fifty thousand, requisite to govern such an immense body of turbulent citizens, deprived of the direction of property, is another most serious addition to the expense of government, which is constantly on the increase ; while every addition to the power of the people by successive Revolutions has become more costly ; that of 1848 has made it above three times what it was in 1789. After half a century of turmoil, confusion, and bloodshed, France finds its permanent taxes tripled, while its population has advanced only a

third; real property is crushed by a land tax varying from a tenth to a fifth of the net produce of the soil.* The government is really centred in the executive, though the name by which that executive is called, or the family which holds it, may be liable to frequent change. In vain have the French people, suffering acutely under these manifold evils, sought by successive Revolutions to better their condition, and shake off their burdens by extending the elective franchise. Each successive shock has only increased them: the military government of the capital has become more stringent with every overthrow of more legitimate authority; and the budget, which the National Assembly, elected by universal suffrage, has been obliged to sanction, is by much the heaviest France has ever known.†

European has been exchanged for Asiatic civilisation: there has emerged from the strife, not the freedom of America, but the institutions of the Byzantine empire. France is now cultivated ostensibly by European land-owners, really by the Ryots of Hindostan. But hitherto, at least, it has not obtained in exchange even the tranquillity and repose which men usually seek under the shelter of despotism. The authority of the ruling power at the Tuileries has become irresistible; but it

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59.
It has
changed
European
for Asiatic
civilisation.

* Population of France in 1784,	.	.	24,800,000
do. do. in 1845,	.	.	34,200,000
		Francs.	
Taxes of France in 1784,	.	.	500,000,000 or £20,000,000
do. do. in 1845,	.	.	1,415,779,706 — 56,120,000
do. do. in 1849,	.	.	1,674,000,000 — 67,000,000
Land taxes in 1784, viz. :—			
Vingtièmes,	.	.	55,000,000
Troisième,	.	.	21,500,000
Taille,	.	.	91,000,000
			184,500,000 — 7,400,000
Land and income tax in 1845,	.	.	400,029,566 — 16,000,000
Interest of debt in 1784,	.	.	207,000,000 — 8,280,000
Interest of debt in 1845,	.	.	347,641,702 — 13,900,000

Annuaire Historique, xxvii. 169; xxx. 148. *Stat. de la France (Population)*, 155; and NECKER, *Sur les Finances*, i. 35, 91.

† It amounts to 1,656,000,000, or above £66,000,000 sterling, in a period of general peace.

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has been discovered that, by an urban tumult, the depositories of that power may be changed; and revolutions of the palace have succeeded, as they did in Rome, those in the state. The description given by a great Orientalist and philosophic observer of China, may pass for that of France since the Revolution;—"There is no nobility—no hereditary class with hereditary rights. Education and employment in the service of the state form the only marks of distinction. The men of letters and government functionaries are blended together in the single class of mandarins; but the state is all in all. But this absolute and monarchical system has not conduced to the peace, stability, and permanent prosperity of the state; for the whole history of China, from beginning to end, displays one continued series of *seditions, usurpations, anarchy, changes of dynasty*, and other violent revolutions and catastrophes. But the final triumph has ever been to the monarchical principle."¹

¹ Schlegel's
Philosophy
of History,
i. 102, 103.

60.
Picture of
France
since 1830,
by Louis
Blanc.

The internal and social state of France subsequent to 1830, after the effects of two successful Revolutions had fully developed themselves, and their consequences for good or for evil had been fully ascertained, has been thus painted by the hand of a master:—"Great capital giving the victory in social conflicts, as dense battalions did in military, and the principle of *laissez faire*, terminating in the most ruinous monopolies; great undertakings ruining little ones; the commerce of the wealthy destroying that of the indigent; usury by degrees getting possession of the soil, a modern feudality worse than the ancient; landed property burdened by more than a milliard francs (£40,000,000;) the artisans who have property giving place to workmen who have none; capitals daily swallowed up from the impulse of cupidity in hazardous undertakings; every interest in the state armed against its neighbour; the owners of vines against those of corn; the growers of beetroot against the planters of sugar; the harbours of

the sea against the manufactures of the interior ; the provinces of the south against those of the north — Bordeaux against Paris ; here markets overstocked, bringing despair to the capitalist ; there workshops closed, portending ruin to the workmen ; commerce becomes a mere traffic of deceits and impositions ; the nation marching to the reconstruction of feudality by usury, to the establishment of a moneyed oligarchy by credit ; all the discoveries of science transformed into the means of oppression ; all the conquests of genius over nature transformed into the arms of social conflict ; tyranny multiplied by the very march of progress ; the *proletaire* become the servant of a machine, in periods of crisis seeking his bread between revolt and charity ; the father of the poor man going at the age of sixty to die in an hospital, his daughter at the age of sixteen forced to prostitute herself for bread ; the son of the poor man obliged to breathe at the age of seven the corrupted air of manufactories to add to the gains of the family ; the nuptial bed of the workman rendered improvident by misery, become ruinously fruitful, and the working classes menacing society with an inundation of beggars. Such was the picture of society in France from 1830 to 1840. On the other hand, no common belief, no attachment to traditions, a sceptical spirit examining everything and affirming nothing ; the only religion left, the love of gain. The nation being thus turned towards mercantile gain, it was natural to make of marriage a speculation ; a matter of higgling, a mode of adding to the attractions of a shop. And as marriage, although contracted in that hideous fashion, had been declared indissoluble by the law, adultery stepped in and almost everywhere supplied the want of divorce. To the disorders produced in families by the breach of the conjugal vows, were added the scandalous scramble among the children for the inheritance. Among the working classes, the dissolution of manners produced still more disastrous consequences. In the register of prostitution,

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misery clearly stands forth as the chief cause of debauchery ; misery engendered concubinage ; concubinage infanticide.”* Is this sombre picture drawn by a disappointed Royalist mourning over the ruin of his prospects by the result of two successful revolutions ? It is drawn by an ardent revolutionist, the enthusiastic supporter of popular rights and republican institutions, who has himself engaged in a third revolution, and left a still more terrible picture drawn by himself of its effects on society.†

61.
Marked
change in
the opinions
of great men
on religion
since the
Revolution
in France.

Amidst so many disheartening circumstances in the present social condition of France, the natural result and just punishment of the crimes the nation has committed, there is one consolatory feature arising from the excess of those crimes themselves. This is the marked change which has taken place in the opinions of writers of the highest class of thought in that country on *religious* subjects. There is not an intellect which now rises to a certain level in that country—not a name which will be known a hundred years hence—which is not thoroughly *Christian* in its principle. *That*, at least, is one blessing which has resulted from the Revolution. Chateaubriand, Guizot, Lamartine, Villemain, de Tocqueville, Sismondi, Amédée Thierry, Barante, belong to this bright band. When such men, differing from each other so widely in every other respect, are leagued together in defence of Christianity, we may regard as a passing evil the licentiousness or dangerous tendency of the writings of Victor Hugo, Sue, Balzac, and other popular French novelists. They no doubt indicate clearly enough the state of general opinion *at this time* ; but what then ? Their great contemporaries, the giants of thought, foreshadow what will be. The profligate novels, licentious dramas, and irreligious

* LOUIS BLANC, *Histoire de Dix Ans du Règne de Louis Philippe*, iii. 90, 92.

† See Proclamation by LOUIS BLANC and LEDRU-ROLLIN against the Republican Government, *July 18, 1849*.

opinions of the writers which form the ideas of a large part of the middle classes now in France, are the result of the infidelity and wickedness which produced the Revolution. The opinions of the great men who have succeeded the school of the Encyclopedists, who have been taught wisdom by the suffering it produced, will form, it is to be hoped, the character of a future generation. Public opinion at any time is nothing but the re-echo of the thoughts of a few great men half a century before. It takes that time for ideas to flow down from the elevated to the inferior level. The great never adopt, they only originate ; it is the second-rate who imitate and deteriorate. The chief efforts of the leaders of thought are in general made in opposition to the prevailing opinion by which they are surrounded, but they determine that by which they are succeeded. The labours of the subordinate class of imitators in the press or at the helm of government are confined to following out their ideas. The orgies of the Goddess of Reason in France flowed from the sarcasms of Voltaire ; the abolition of Protection in England from the doctrines of Adam Smith.

Perhaps no nation, ancient or modern, achieved in the end such extraordinary and unlooked-for success as fell to the lot of England in the close of this great contest. Not only had the capital of her enemy been twice captured by the alliance of which she formed the head, but on the second occasion this had been done by her own army, headed by her own general. Again, as in the days which followed the battle of Cressy, the English horse had marched from Bayonne to Calais. Enormous war contributions had been levied by indignant Europe on the conquered realm : if it was not partitioned, and swept from the book of nations, this was greatly to be ascribed to the moderation or jealousies of the conquerors. An army of occupation strong enough to bridle the fiercest passions, and tame the deepest indignation, had been

62.
Astounding
successes of
England in
the war.

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put in possession of its frontier fortresses, and placed under the command of an English general. Paris did not, like Carthage, burn seventeen days in the sight of the victor : but it did more ; it twice owed its existence to his generosity. Seven hundred thousand captives did not, as in the time of Scipio Africanus, bewail the sword of conquest ; but three hundred thousand prisoners emerged from confinement, to evince in their freedom the clemency of their enemies, and bless the religion they formerly reviled, which had so wonderfully softened the usages of war. The whole conquests of the Revolution had been reft from the Great Nation faster than they had been won ; the works of art, the monuments of genius, unworthily carried off by the French in the days of their triumph, had been restored ; and if the productions of their own country yet remained to them, it was only because they did not undergo the stern law of retaliation, and their victorious enemies declined to follow their bad example.

63.
Prodigious
maritime
successes of
Great Bri-
tain during
the war.

Great and glorious as were the triumphs of England at the termination of this memorable struggle, the maritime and colonial successes gained during its continuance had been still more remarkable. Though the united navies of France, Spain, and Holland, with which Great Britain had to contend before the war had lasted three years, outnumbered her own by sixty effective ships of the line ;* yet such had been the superiority of her seaman-

* Viz., at the commencement of war in 1793—

	Line.	Frigates.
France	86	79
Spain	76	68
Holland	28	27
	—190	—174
England	153	89
Balance against England, . . .	37	85

but only one hundred and fifteen ships of the English line were fit for service, so that the real balance against her at the commencement of the war was seventy-five ships of the line and eighty-five frigates, which implied probably a balance of sixty line-of-battle ships fit for service, taking into view the worn-out ones on the other side.—See *Ante*, Chap. ix. § 26, note ; and Chap. ii. § 8, note.

ship, the valour of her sailors, and the ability of her admirals, that before its termination the fleets of these powers were almost totally destroyed, and those of England rode triumphant in every quarter of the globe. From the renewal of the war in May 1803, to its conclusion in July 1815, the number of ships of the line and frigates lost to the enemies of Great Britain in battle, was no less than one hundred and seventy-nine; of which fifty-five of the former class and seventy-nine of the latter had been captured by the victors. Of these one hundred and one had been added to the navy of this country. The losses sustained by England during the same period, were only thirteen of the line, *not one* of which had been captured by the enemy, but all accidentally perished—and nine frigates taken in battle. The total losses of the navy during this period of unexampled activity at sea, however, by accident or the fury of the elements, were very great; they amounted in all to three hundred and seventeen vessels bearing the royal flag. The total number of ships of the line and frigates captured from the enemy, from the commencement of the war in 1793 to its close in 1815, was one hundred and thirteen of the former class, and one hundred and ninety-five of the latter, of which eighty-three of the line and one hundred and sixty-two frigates were added to the British navy.* The British navy, at

* TABLE showing the French, Spanish, Dutch, Russian, Danish, and Turkish ships of the line and frigates taken or destroyed during the war, and the number of each added to the British navy:—

I. FROM 1793 TO 1801.

LINE.						FRIGATES.						TOTAL.	
	Taken.	Destroyed.	Wrecked.	Sunk.	Burnt.		Taken.	Destroyed.	Wrecked.	Sunk.	Burnt by accident.	Lost to enemy.	Added to British navy.
French,	34	11	5	4	1	French,	82	14	4	2	1	157	90
Dutch,	18	...	...	...	...	Dutch,	33	...	...	...	...	51	42
Spanish,	4	5	Spanish,	11	4	25	11
Danish,	2	Danish,	2	1
Total line,	58	16	5	4	1	Total fri-	126	18	4	2	1	234	144
						gates,							

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the commencement of the year 1815, consisted of seven hundred and ninety-two vessels, of which two hundred and fourteen were of the line, and one hundred and ninety-two frigates; being an increase, since the commencement of the war in 1793, of ninety-nine of the former class, and one hundred and eight of the latter. The navy, however, had not been kept up at this immense amount without proportional efforts on the part of the state; and in the years 1813 and 1814, the total sums voted by Parliament for the sea-service reached to the enormous amount of above nineteen millions sterling in each year, and the actual charge to twenty-two millions.* The magnitude of this effort will not be duly appreciated, unless it is recollected that in those two years Great Britain expended annually ten and eleven millions in subsidies to foreign powers; that she had all the armies of Europe in her pay in France or Germany; that the total national expenditure was above £120,000,000 yearly, of which no less than £72,000,000 was raised by taxes within the year, on a population not exceeding, at that period, eighteen millions of souls: that she had above a million of men in arms at once;¹ and that, during

¹ James's
Naval Hist.
vi. App.
Nos. 15, 17,
21, 22, 23,
Ante, ch.
xli. § 67.

II. FROM 1801 TO 1815.

LINE.						FRIGATES.						TOTAL.	
	Taken.	Destroyed.	Wrecked.	Sunk.	Burnt.		Taken.	Destroyed.	Wrecked.	Sunk.	Burnt by accident.	Loss to enemy.	Added to British navy.
French,	26	9	1	...	...	French,	55	15	4	...	...	108	59
Dutch,	...	3	1	...	...	Dutch,	5	1	1	...	...	11	4
Spanish,	10	1	...	...	...	Spanish,	6	1	...	...	...	18	9
Danish,	18	1	...	...	...	Danish,	9	1	...	...	...	28	24
Russian,	1	...	...	...	...	Russian,	1	4	...	...	...	6	...
Turkish,	...	1	...	...	...	Turkish,	3	1	...	...	...	4	3
Grand total,	55	14	2	0	0	Grand total,	79	23	6	0	0	179	199
Whole war,	113	30	7	4	1	Whole war,	205	41	10	2	1	413	343

—JAMES, ii. *App.* No. 17; and vi. 506; *App.* No. 15.

			Voted.	Real Cost.
* Viz: For the year 1813,	in all	£19,312,270	£21,996,624	
Do. 1814,	...	19,032,700	21,961,567	

—JAMES'S *Naval History*, vi. 500, 505; and *Ante*, Chap. xli. § 67.

successive periods of the strife, she had to combat the *whole fleets of the civilised world* combined against her!

It is an old observation, that he who is master of the sea of necessity must gain possession of the land also; and the result of this war proved that, in so far as colonial or distant possessions are concerned, the remark is well founded. The whole colonies of the world, in the course of the war, fell into the hands of the English or their allies. When the British flag was hoisted on Fort Cornelius, in the island of Java, in the year 1807, the last of the French and Dutch colonies had fallen. The Danish were taken as soon as the war with that power broke out in the same year; the Spanish, by the effects of the invasion of the Peninsula, were converted into allies of Great Britain, and in the end became independent. Not a colony remained to an enemy of England at the close of the war. The Americans had entered into it in the hope of wresting Canada from her in the hour of her distress; but they gained no other lasting result from mingling in the strife but to see their capital taken, their commerce ruined, their harbours sealed, their flag swept from the ocean. The whole colonial commerce of the world had centred in the merchants of Great Britain. Her dominions in the West Indies embraced every one of those rich and flourishing settlements yet producing sugar,* formerly divided among so many nations; and the planters of which, from the long monopoly of colonial trade which they had enjoyed under shelter of the naval supremacy of England, were in a state of extraordinary prosperity. In North America, England possessed the vast and almost boundless realms of Canada, the cradle of empires yet to be, to which the St Lawrence, and chain of mighty lakes from which it flows, opened an interior communication, similar to what the Mediterranean afforded to ancient Rome. These

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64.
Great colonial conquests of England during the same period.

* St Domingo had ceased to produce any.

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splendid possessions had shown themselves as impregnable to the arms of their republican neighbours as they were proof against the seduction of their principles. In the East, the whole peninsula of Hindostan, from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya snows, formed her gigantic dominion : eighty millions of men there inhabited her territories, while forty millions more acknowledged her influence, or were tributary to her arms. The noble island of Java, and all the European settlements in the Indian archipelago, had fallen into her hands, and their original owners owed their restitution solely to her perhaps misplaced generosity ; while, in New Holland, a fifth quarter of the globe was added to her dominions, and those infant settlements were already planted which are destined to spread, in the very antipodes of the mother country, the powers of European art, and the blessings of Christian civilisation.

65.
Internal
growth and
prosperity
of England
during the
same period.

When successes so marvellous, in every part of the world—and which may safely be pronounced without a parallel in the whole history of mankind—were achieved by a people in a small island of the Atlantic, and with a comparatively inconsiderable population, it may readily be imagined that a most extraordinary degree of activity and prosperity must have prevailed in the parent state, from which the whole of these efforts emanated. This, accordingly, was in a most striking manner the case. Great as had been the increase in the external dependencies of the British empire during the period embraced in this history, they were outdone by the advances made during the same time in its internal resources. These, so far from having been exhausted, had multiplied to an extraordinary degree during the war ; and the empire was stronger in men, money, and resources of all kinds, at its termination, than it had been at its commencement. The population of Great Britain and Ireland, so far from having declined during the struggle, had increased beyond all former precedent. In 1793, it scarcely reached four-

teen, in 1815 it exceeded eighteen, millions of souls. The national revenue, which in the former period was not quite seventeen millions sterling, in the latter exceeded seventy-two millions : the national expenditure had risen, during the same time, from twenty to a hundred and twenty millions sterling. No less than £574,000,000 had been added, since 1793, to the national debt, after deducting all that had been paid off by the sinking fund ; but so far had this prodigious expenditure been from absorbing the capital of the nation, that agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, during the same exhausting conflict, had made unprecedented progress. The exports had doubled, the imports increased fifty per cent ; the commercial shipping had nearly tripled during the strife ; agriculture, flourishing beyond all former precedent, had more than kept pace with the growth of the population ; and the nation had, for the first time for half a century, become independent of foreign supplies. Still the unemployed capital of the country was so abundant that, in the last of twenty years of hostilities, the loan of above fifty millions was contracted on more favourable terms than one of four millions and a half at their commencement.* And what is most extraordinary of all, during the whole of this period of anxious effort, when the nation was straining every nerve to maintain its existence, and taxation, to an enormous amount, weighed upon its energies, not only was the public faith kept inviolate, but the provident system of Mr Pitt, for the redemption of the debt, was preserved entire ; the sinking fund had risen,

* Year.	Home and Col. exports. Official value.	Imports. Official value.	Shipping. Tons.	Revenue. Great Britain.	Population.	Terms on which loans contracted.	National debt.
	L.	L.		L.			L.
1792	24,904,850	19,659,358	1,068,302	16,382,435	13,400,000	5 per ct.	231,537,865
1793	20,399,179	19,459,357	719,268	17,674,395	13,900,000	5½ —	229,614,446
1794	26,748,082	22,294,893	1,879,581	17,440,806	14,220,000	5 —	234,034,718
1814	51,358,398	32,622,771	2,616,965	71,134,503	18,100,000	4½ —	752,857,236
1815	57,420,457	31,822,053	2,601,276	72,210,512	18,520,000	5½ —	816,311,940
1816	48,216,166	26,374,921	2,648,593	62,264,546	18,740,000	4¾ —	796,200,196

— See Table A, Appendix, Chap. xov.; and *Ante*, Chap. xli. § 64 ; and PORTER'S *Parl. Tables*, i. 1.

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during the war, from a million and a half to fifteen millions sterling; and not a shilling had been taken from the annual sum devoted to the relief of the poor, amounting though it did, at the close of the period, to six millions sterling.*

66.
Extraordi-
nary growth
of the Bri-
tish empire
since the
peace.

It is not, however, during a contest, but after it is over, that its lasting effects for good or for evil upon the national fortunes are to be discerned: it was in the half century immediately *following* the second Punic war that the Roman dominion was extended over the greater part of the civilised world. Judging by this standard, the impulse given to the wealth, resources, and power of England, by the revolutionary conflict, is proved to have been immense. There is, perhaps, no example in the annals of mankind of a nation having made such advances in industry, wealth, and numbers, as Great Britain has made since the peace. In the thirty years that have elapsed since the battle of Waterloo, during which it has enjoyed, in Europe at least, almost uninterrupted peace, its population has increased more than a half, having advanced from 18,500,000 to 28,000,000: its imports have doubled, having risen from £32,000,000 to £70,000,000: its exports have more than tripled, having swelled from £42,000,000 to £130,000,000, exclusive of colonial produce: its shipping has doubled, having grown up from 2,500,000 tons to 5,000,000. During the same period, the agricultural industry of the country has been so far

* Years.	Money applied yearly to redemp- tion of debt.	Poor's rates annually, England.	Annual loans besides floating debt.	Taxes raised on Great Britain.	Total Expenditure.
1792	£1,458,504		£4,500,000	£16,382,435	£16,382,435
1793	1,634,972		12,907,451	17,674,395	22,754,366
1794	1,872,957		42,090,646	17,440,806	29,305,477
1795	2,143,697		42,736,196	19,883,520	39,751,091
1813	16,064,057	£6,117,241	58,763,100	68,748,363	107,644,085
1814	14,830,957	6,294,581	18,500,000	71,134,503	122,235,660
1815	14,241,397	5,418,846	45,135,589	72,210,512	129,742,390
1816	13,945,117	5,724,839	9,256,092	62,264,546	71,612,219

—See Appendix, A, Chap. xcv.; and PORTER'S *Parl. Tables*, i. 1.

from falling short of this prodigious increase in its commercial transactions, that it has signally prospered : the dependence of the nation on foreign supplies has steadily diminished, until the grain annually imported had come, on an average of five years ending with 1835, to be no more than a *two-hundredth part*, in average years, of the annual consumption ; and the prodigy was exhibited of the rural industry in an old state, possessing a narrow and long cultivated territory, not only keeping pace with, but outstripping, an increase of numbers, and augmentation of food required for the purposes of luxury, unparalleled in any age.*

Nor have the external power and warlike achievements of England been weakened by this long direction of its energies to pacific pursuits. Though comparatively seldom called into action, the prowess of her soldiers and sailors has shone forth with lustre, if possible increasing on every successive occasion. Her colonial empire has greatly increased : New Zealand, a large part of Hindostan, a valuable settlement in China, have been added to her dominions, already vast, in the Indian and southern seas : Acre, impregnable to Napoleon, has yielded to her arms : the ambition of Russia, the encroachments of France, have been alike checked in the East : the Mah-rattas, the Pindarries, the Goorkhas, the Burmese, the Affghans, the Sikhs, have been successively conquered in Asia : the British flag has been planted on the ramparts of Bhurtpore ; it has waved at Ghuznee, the cradle of the Mahometan power, in the heart of Asia ; a disaster which recalls the destruction of the legions of Varus has been

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67.
Growth of
its colonial
power.

	Exports. Official Value.	Imports. Declared Value.	Shipping. Tons.	Population.
* 1816	£35,717,070	£26,374,921	2,648,593	18,640,000
1817	40,111,427	29,910,502	2,664,986	18,930,000
1818	42,700,521	35,845,340	2,674,468	19,180,000
1843	117,877,278	70,093,353	4,847,296	27,430,000
1844	131,564,503	75,441,555	5,049,601	27,660,000
1845	132,444,503	85,281,958	6,045,718	27,900,000

—See also Appendix, A, Chap. xcv.

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surmounted ; and while the Continental nations were speculating on the approaching fall of the British empire in India from its effects, the vigour of the nation recovered the shock. China was vanquished, the ground lost in Affghanistaun regained, in a single campaign ; and the world was lost in amazement at beholding the same Delhi Gazette announce a glorious peace dictated to the Celestial Empire under the walls of Nankin, and the second capture of Cabul in the centre of Asia. Such were the national riches during this extension of its dominions, that Great Britain could afford at one period to give twenty millions sterling for the perilous experiment of Negro emancipation ; and at another ten millions to assuage the poignant sufferings of Irish poverty. When England sheathed her victorious sword within the walls of Lahore, in 1846, her sway was paramount, not only over the whole peninsula of Hindostan, but the entire extent of Eastern Asia ; and a hundred and fifty millions of men, in the four quarters of the globe, obeyed the sceptre of Queen Victoria.*

LONDON, the capital and heart of this immense dominion, is a city so great from its riches and populousness, so extensive in its influence, so renowned from the deeds

	Population.	Territory. Square Miles.
* Viz : Great Britain and Ireland, . . .	25,500,000	122,823
Dependencies in Europe, . . .	158,729	124
Do. Ceylon and Hong Kong, . . .	1,242,000	24,664
Do. Asia,	85,300,000	642,000
Do. Africa,	288,613	200,723
Dependencies in North America, . . .	1,720,000	750,000
Do. South America,	100,000	52,400
Do. West Indies,	800,000	77,000
Do. Australia,	240,000	474,000
Army and Navy,	199,460	
Total British Empire,	118,548,802	2,343,734
Protected States in Europe, Ionian Islands,	231,000	1,041
Do. in India,	40,000,000	542,000
Total British Empire and Dependencies, . . .	158,779,802	2,886,775

— *Census of 1841* ; and MALTE BRUN, iv. 15, 257.

of which it has been the theatre, that any description of the British empire at the close of the war might justly be deemed incomplete which did not contain some notice of its principal features. Situated on both banks of the Thames, at the distance of thirty-five miles from the sea, but in so level a district that the tide flows through its centre, in the midst of a rich champaign country, and communicating readily by land and water with its richest provinces, it is equally well adapted for carrying on an extensive foreign commerce, and becoming the emporium of internal opulence. So early as the time of the Romans, these favourable circumstances led to its growing into a considerable city ; part of the Tower is said to have been originally constructed by the hands of the Legions—certainly its walls stand on the foundations excavated by their labour ; and, so early as the time of Queen Boadicea, it had become a place of such note, that a large proportion of the Italian colonists who fell by her arms were settled within its bounds. Since that period, it has steadily advanced in wealth, population, and importance. The Anglo-Saxons, Danes, and Normans have successively made it the seat of their government and the centre of their dominion ; its strength has generally cast the balance in favour of whichever party, in the civil wars that followed, was fortunate enough to obtain its aid. But for its support, the star of York would have paled before the rising fortunes of the House of Lancaster in the time of Edward IV. ; but for the fidelity of the city trained-bands, the arms of the Long Parliament would have sunk before the cavaliers of Charles I. It is chiefly in later times, however, and since the colonial empire of Great Britain has been so widely extended, and its naval supremacy been determined, that it has risen to such immense and universally-felt importance ; and it may now safely be affirmed that it exceeds in wealth and influence, and probably also in population, any city of which history has preserved a record, either in ancient or modern times.

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68.

Historical
sketch of
London.

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69.

Statistics of
London at
the close of
the war, and
thirty years
after.

Its inhabitants, which did not much exceed a million at the close of the war, have now (1849) swelled to the enormous amount of two millions two hundred thousand—a number probably equal to those contained in Rome at the highest period of its elevation.* So prodigious is the commerce which centres in its harbour, that out of £20,000,000 customhouse duties which Great Britain yields to government, no less than £12,000,000, on an average of years, come from the port of London. In its principal bank, that of England, an accumulated treasure of £15,000,000 sterling is generally lying; besides what is in the hands of inferior establishments or in general circulation, of at least equal amount. In its arsenal, that of Woolwich, are contained stores of artillery and ammunition equal to a war on the greatest scale with the whole civilised world. Yet so salubrious is its situation, owing to the dry gravelly bed on which it stands, the gentle declivity which generally conducts its impurities to the river, and the extensive system of subterraneous drainage by which these advantages are skilfully made the most of, that the chance of life in its numerous inhabitants is on an average not greatly less than that of all England.† Noble parks, studded with ancestral trees,

* Population of London in

1801	1811	1821	1831	1841
864,845	1,009,546	1,225,694	1,471,941	1,873,676

At this rate of increase, which certainly has not diminished during the last seven years, its present inhabitants must be nearly 2,200,000 (1849;) and by the census of 1851, will probably be 2,300,000.—*Census of 1841*, p. 10, *Enumeration Abstract, Preface*. Rome, according to the best authorities, contained, in the time of the Antonines, 2,265,000 inhabitants. See the Chevalier BUNSEN, *Beschreibung von Rom*, i. 184, which estimate is approved by ZUMPT, *Über die Bevölkerung in Allerthum Berlin Trans. for 1846*, p. 59: and Professor HOECK, ii. 383. London is ten miles long by seven miles broad. The number of houses is upwards of 200,000. Its leviathan body is composed of nearly 10,000 streets, lanes, alleys, squares, places, terraces, &c. It consumes upwards of 4,369,400 lb. of animal food weekly, which is washed down by 1,400,000 barrels of beer annually, exclusive of other liquids. Its rental is at least £7,000,000 a-year, and it pays for luxuries it imports at least £12,000,000 a-year duty alone. It has 537 churches, 207 dissenting places of worship, upwards of 5000 public-houses, and 16 theatres.

† The annual mortality of all England was in 1830, 1 in 58: in London it

furnish at once recreation and health to the citizens : they are emphatically called “the lungs of London.” So vast are its commercial transactions, that they frequently amount to fifty and even a hundred millions, which pass the clearing house of the bankers in a single week, sometimes in a single day ; and any stoppage in the wonted supplies of its credit is felt like the shock of an earthquake over the whole mercantile world—in Europe, Asia, and America. The great commercial catastrophe which, in 1838 and 1839, prostrated so large a part of the commercial establishments of America, arose entirely, as was stated by Mr Biddle, the chairman of the United States Bank, from the contraction of credit in London, owing to the great exportation of the precious metals to purchase grain to supply the deficient harvests of those years in the British islands. The dreadful monetary crisis of 1847, which produced such wide-spread ruin over the civilised world, was entirely owing to the monetary laws of Great Britain, and the vast export of the precious metals which in that year took place, to purchase an unprecedented supply of foreign grain for its inhabitants. Many hundreds of vessels, of all sizes and nations, daily go up and down the Thames ; its East and West India docks are, taken singly, greater than first-rate harbours in other states ; its port, seven miles in length, presents a forest of shipping unequalled in any part of the world ; and whoever has not approached London by water, and beheld the commerce of the world centred in its heart, can have formed no adequate conception of the grandeur and importance of the British empire.

It can scarcely be affirmed that the architectural splen-

was in 1836, 1 in 46. The deaths of persons under 20 years of age have decreased in the metropolis to *a half* of their amount in the last half century.

They were in	1780	1	in	76½
... ..	1801	.	.	96
... ..	1830	.	.	124
... ..	1833	.	.	137

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, i. 24.

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70.

Its general
appearance
and archi-
tectural
character.

dour of the English metropolis is equal to this lofty destiny ; and certainly its ruins will convey to future ages no adequate conception either of its present magnificence or beauty. Many sovereigns, as Augustus with Rome, have found it of brick, but none have left it of marble. The general use of that inferior and perishable material in the construction of the greater part even of public edifices, and its almost universal adoption in that of private houses, has given to the greater part of the city a monotonous and mean appearance, which strangely contrasts with the unexampled magnificence displayed in its equipages, and the boundless wealth accumulated in its shops. So much, indeed, of the overwhelming impression of London is produced by the latter circumstances, that it is difficult to separate from them the effect of its edifices, considered merely as architectural structures. At the close of the war, with the exception of St Paul's, Westminster Abbey, St Martin's Church, and a few other public buildings, most of which were of ancient date, there was scarcely a street or edifice in London worthy of the metropolis of a great empire. During nearly two centuries which had since elapsed, the national taste had never recovered the shock given to the fine arts by the triumph of the Puritans in the time of Charles I. Whitehall, which formed a small part only of the palace projected by the refined taste of that patriotic monarch, was then, and perhaps is still, the most perfect building of the kind in the metropolis. Since that time, however, great exertions have been made for its embellishment—the frequency of foreign travelling having awakened the inhabitants of this country to a just and painful sense of the inferiority of their capital in this respect. Long lines of pillared scenery, rows of buildings resembling palaces, statues, triumphal arches, monumental columns, and other public structures, now adorn the metropolis in profusion, and convey at once a vivid impression of its riches, and the recently awakened desire of its inhabitants for archi-

tectural decoration. Its numerous bridges of granite and iron, which span the Thames, are beyond all question the finest in the world, and will convey to the remotest ages some idea of its present grandeur. St Paul's bears the second honours of sacred structures in the Grecian style of architecture; Westminster Abbey the first in Gothic, if the richness of the decorations is taken in connexion with the sacred associations by which it is hallowed.

If London could be perpetuated to future times as it now is, few capitals would exceed it in the gorgeous magnificence of its structures. But unfortunately they are for the most part of brick, with a coating merely of stucco, which, however carefully prepared and richly ornamented, seldom long survives the generation which produced it. The facility with which forms are varied in that flexible material, joined to the desire of wealth to display its treasures, and of artists to show their originality, has led to an unhappy departure from the models of pure taste, and general adoption of meretricious designs. No one can visit London without regretting how much beauty in its edifices has been lost in the search for variety; how much simplicity has been sacrificed for ornament. But most of all, the perishable nature of the materials of which it is almost all constructed, never calculated for a century's duration, seldom surviving half the time,* affords subject for regret. If a decline in the present sources of its opulence were to occur, and the restoration of their expensive fronts in consequence to become impossible, London, like Vicenza at this time, would come ere long to resemble a skeleton, from which the once beautiful covering of the flesh had fallen. It can never, in consequence, unless a change should take place in the materials of which it is constructed, present that most striking of all

71.
Its perish-
able mate-
rials, and
want of
lasting
structures.

* Witness the modern ruins in the Quadrant. If a change in the direction of fashion, or a decay in the national fortunes, were to cause the shops in Regent Street, or the houses in Regent Park, to be neglected, how long would their brilliant fronts survive amidst the humid atmosphere and frequent fogs of London?

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features in an ancient city, the union of the monuments of past with the creations of present times : a circumstance the more to be regretted, from the long period during which it has maintained an important place in human affairs, and the many illustrious names which have immortalised its annals, and of whom the enduring fane of Westminster covers the remains.

72.
How has
this vast
dominion
of Great
Britain
arisen ?

It will be a matter of never-failing astonishment to future ages, how a nation possessing the limited territory, and comparatively scanty population of Great Britain, ever succeeded in amassing such riches, and acquiring so mighty a dominion ; and this history would indeed be imperfect, if some attempt at least were not made to explain the phenomenon. Probably we are too near the time of its occurrence to be able to assign the causes with perfect correctness ; and possibly the attempt now made may only add another to the many examples which experience furnishes of the extent to which contemporary writers may be misled as to the real sources of their country's prosperity or decline. Whether it be so or not, however, the attempt should be made ; and if it does not instruct future times by its wisdom, it may warn them by its errors.

73.
First cause :
The energy
and perse-
verance of
the British
people.

I. The first circumstance which seems to have contributed to the astonishing extension of the British empire, is the energetic and persevering character of the greater part of its inhabitants. It is the more material to insist on this circumstance, because general opinion, for nearly a century past, has inclined to its oblivion, and tended to assign as causes of the difference of national character and fortunes, what in reality is their effect. When it is said that it is the free constitution and liberal institutions of England which have been the cause of its greatness, men forget that these institutions themselves were the work of the people, and that, but for the resolute and persevering character which they evinced from the first

dawn of English history, they would have been torn to pieces by the senseless dissensions, or sunk in the debasing slavery, which have proved fatal to so many other nations. No people ever was more rudely assailed by the sword of conquest, than those of this country : none had its chains to appearance more firmly riveted round their necks. The Romans, the Saxons, the Danes, the Normans, have successively overrun its plains : the settlement of the last was the most violent, and attended with a transfer of property the most complete, of any which modern Europe has witnessed. Yet from all these disasters the British nation has recovered : nay, it has derived from them all the means of additional advances in industry, power, and greatness. Incorporating, as it were, with the dispositions of the native inhabitants, the most valuable qualities of all the races by which they have been subsequently conquered, they have come in the end to form a character which has produced the wonders that now fill the world with astonishment. If we would see what the aborigines of this country originally were—what, but for foreign intermixture, they would still have been, we have only to look to the inhabitants of the south and west of Ireland, or of the highlands and islands of Scotland. But with the bravery and tenacity of custom, joined to the indolence and carelessness of the Celtic character, have been successively incorporated the wisdom and perseverance of the Romans, the industry and honesty of the Germans, the roving disposition and adventurous spirit of the Danes, the chivalrous soul and high aspirations of the Normans. It is the blending of the whole which has formed the British character : had any been awanting, an essential element in the formation would have been deficient, and the national fortunes probably different. It would appear that, in the moral not less than the natural world, it is by the combination of different materials that the richest soil is formed, and from its varied qualities that the choicest fruits may be expected.

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74.

Physical
advantages
of Britain,
which aided
the progress
of its inhabi-
tants.

II. Vain, however, would have been the preparations in the intermingling of races for the ultimate development of the British mind, had not physical advantages existed, in the circumstances in which their descendants were placed, adequate to enable them to perform their appropriate mission. But when Providence destined the Anglo-Saxon race to mighty achievements, it was not unmindful of the external aid requisite to their accomplishment. Long anterior to the birth of man, in the first ages of physical creation, the strata were formed by the superincumbent deluge, the islands were formed by its receding waves, which thereafter, stirred by the persevering hand of industry, were destined to provide the asylum, to furnish the powers, from which was to emanate the civilisation and peopling of half the globe. Securely cradled in the waves, placed in the centre of the commercial highway of Europe, the nearest land to the mariner who approaches from another hemisphere, the British islands are protected from all save the aggression of maritime power, and secured in advantages the most favourable for the acquisition of naval superiority, and the growth of a universal commerce. An extensive sea-coast, studded with islands, and deeply indented by bays or natural havens, at once invited the inhabitants of the shores to maritime adventure, and furnished retreats in case of disaster ; a tempestuous ocean incessantly trained the seamen to hardihood and nautical skill.

75.

The riches
and re-
sources of
its terri-
tory.

A territory in some places level and fertile, in others rugged and mountainous, afforded the fairest prospect of reward to the varied branches of rural industry, and provided the means of maintaining triple the population which has as yet been maintained upon it ; a climate alternately rigorous and genial, bracing, but not enervating, at once compelled exertion and rewarded industry. Nor were mineral riches, or the means of putting in motion manufacturing industry, wanting : on the contrary, they were furnished with a profusion unknown in

any other state. A zone a hundred miles broad runs in a diagonal direction across England, fraught with the richest coal and ironstone ; alternate seams of both are to be found in profusion in many parts of the lowlands of Scotland. In the forests of Britain, her inhabitants have at hand the best materials ever yet discovered for the construction of a navy ; beneath their feet, the means of raising and bringing to perfection the greatest commercial undertakings ever set on foot among men. Coal for steam navigation, iron for railways, are to be found in abundance. Ireland possesses similar mineral treasures : if they have not yet been taken advantage of, it is only because the indolent and unforeseeing disposition of its inhabitants has allowed them to remain unnoticed—as if to demonstrate how vain are the choicest gifts of nature, if not seconded by the vigour and perseverance of man.

III. The policy of the British government has for a long series of ages seconded the obvious intentions of nature, and given that decided direction of the national enterprise to commercial and nautical pursuits, which the advantages the people enjoyed so clearly pointed out as their appropriate destination. So marked indeed were these advantages, that from a very remote period they gave England a preponderance in maritime affairs. Gibbon tells us that so early as the revolt of Carausius, England, detached from the Roman empire in the reign of Maximilian, by whom it was in vain assailed, took its proper place as an independent maritime power.¹ In the time of Edward III., the victory of Sluys, the greatest in Europe until that of Lepanto, cost the French marine thirty thousand men, and exposed the territory of France for above a century to the fatal ravages of English invasion. But it was in the time of Charles I. and the Protector Cromwell, that the importance of attending to commercial interests became for the first time generally understood, and the upholding of the navy a fixed object of national policy. The first of these monarchs, whose

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76.

Policy of
the British
government
to support
the navy.¹ Gibbon,
c. xiii. ii.
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patriotic spirit and provident wisdom have been too much overlooked or concealed, from the vehement national divisions of which he became the victim, was so set upon increasing the navy, in order to afford proper protection to the commerce of his subjects, that he lost his crown and his head in consequence. The significant name of the impost concerning which the contest with the people commenced—*ship-money*—remains a lasting proof that the sovereign lost all, because he strove of his own authority to levy a tax for the protection of commerce, which the parsimony of the parliament had denied to his entreaties. His republican successor continued the same wise and enlightened policy, which the prostration of the nation by military power gave it no longer the means of thwarting ; and we owe to him the Navigation Laws, the wisdom of which has won the praise even of the great apostle of free trade, Adam Smith ;* and which, for above a century and a half, secured to the merchant vessels of Great Britain a permanent and decisive superiority over those of foreign nations, in carrying on its vast and growing commerce with all parts of the world. During the war, and until the change of policy by the introduction of the reciprocity system in 1823, this superiority on the part of British shipping increased, until at length it became to the foreign nearly as four to one. It was this superiority, beyond all question, which was the chief means of bringing the nation through the

* “ Though some of the regulations of this famous act may have proceeded from national animosity, they are all as wise as if dictated by the most deliberate wisdom. As defence is of *much more importance than opulence*, the Act of Navigation is perhaps the wisest of the commercial regulations of England. The defence of Great Britain depends very much upon the numbers of its sailors and shipping. The Act of Navigation, therefore, *very properly* endeavours to give the sailors and shipping of Great Britain the monopoly of the trade of their own country, in some cases by absolute prohibitions, in others by heavy burdens upon the shipping of foreign countries. This is one of the cases in which it is advantageous to lay some burden upon foreign, for the encouragement of domestic industry.”—*Wealth of Nations*, B. iv. Chap. ii., vol. ii. p. 192.

perils and burdens of the Revolutionary war.* Xenophon observes, that if Attica had been an island, the naval superiority of the Athenians would have rendered them victorious over the Lacedæmonians in the Peloponnesian War.† That advantage which Athens wanted, England enjoyed.

IV. Great and decisive, however, as was the superiority which the industry and enterprise of its inhabitants, joined to the protective policy of its government, secured to the shipping of this country during the war over those of other countries, the nation must have sunk in the struggle, if it had had no commercial resources to rely on but such as arose from intercourse with foreign nations. So complete had been the land conquests of France during the war, that, for the last half of it, nearly the whole harbours of Europe were closed against British shipping, and the mandates of Napoleon for the proscription of English merchandise were obeyed from the North Cape to the rock of Gibraltar. The commerce of the nation with the Continental states during that period had in consequence signally declined, but that with the other

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77.
The British
colonial sys-
tem. Its
great ef-
fects.

* Years.	BRITISH SHIPPING.		FOREIGN SHIPPING.		TOTAL.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
1801	4,987	922,594	5497	780,115	10,484	1,702,749
1802	7,806	1,333,005	3728	480,251	11,534	1,813,256
1803	6,264	1,115,702	4254	638,104	10,518	1,753,806
1804	4,865	904,932	4271	607,299	9,136	1,512,231
1814	8,975	1,290,248	5286	599,287	14,261	1,889,535
1815	8,880	1,372,108	5314	746,985	14,194	2,119,093
1819	11,974	1,809,128	4215	542,684	16,189	2,351,812
1820	11,285	1,668,060	3472	447,611	14,757	2,115,671
1821	10,810	1,599,274	3261	396,256	14,071	1,995,530
1822	11,087	1,664,186	3389	469,151	14,476	2,133,337

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, iii. 174.

†“ Ένος δε ενδεεις οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι εἰσιν· εἰ καὶ ἡσπον οἰκουντες θαλαττοκρατορες ἦσαν, Ἀθηναῖοι υπηρχεν αν αυτοις ποιειν μεν κακως εἰ ηβουλωντο, πασχειν δε μηδεν ἕως της θαλαττης ηρχον.”—XENOPHON, *Athen. Rep.*, c. ii. “Of one thing only the Athenians stood in need. For if in addition to their power at sea, they had inhabited an island, they might have done evil to any whom they inclined, without suffering injury in return till they had lost the command of the ocean.”

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countries of the world had proportionally increased.* Had Great Britain depended upon its European trade, it would inevitably have been ruined when the Continental System was in full activity: it was to that result that Napoleon constantly looked as the reward of his labour, and the consummation of his desires. But what he could not have conceived, what thwarted all his hopes, and in the end ruined all his designs, was the vast extension which at the same time took place in the commerce of Great Britain with distant quarters, to which his power did not reach. England had planted her colonies in every part of the world: her offspring, emancipated and not emancipated, opened markets for her manufacturing industry, which much more than compensated all she had lost from the ascendancy of France in continental Europe. Two-thirds of the exports of Britain in 1810 were to America and India.† Notwithstanding the astonishing success of the French Emperor in the fields of European warfare, and the indefatigable efforts he made to exclude English merchandise from the harbours of the Continent, the exports of the country went on continually increasing till the year 1811, when they experienced a great and alarming diminution. They sank sixteen millions in a single year. That, however, was almost entirely the consequence of the loss of the North American market, occasioned,

* Exports from Britain to—

	Europe.	United States.	Rest of America.	To all countries.
1806,	£11,363,635	£12,389,488	£10,877,968	£33,732,730
1807,	9,002,237	11,846,513	10,439,423	35,412,867
1808,	9,016,033	5,241,739	16,591,871	35,007,591

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, iii. 102.

† Exports to—

	Europe.	Asia.	United States of America.	Rest of America.	Africa.	Total.
1810,	£15,627,806	£2,977,366	£10,920,752	£15,640,166	£595,031	£45,761,121
1811,	12,834,680	2,941,194	1,841,253	11,929,680	336,742	29,893,549

It was the *license* trade which made the exports to Europe so much greater in this than the preceding years,—an extraordinary proof of the cupidity for money which characterised Napoleon, or of the straits to which he was reduced in carrying out his Continental System. — See PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, iii. 102.

not by the measures of the French Emperor, but by our own injudicious and ill-timed Orders in Council. As it was, however, they reduced the nation to greater straits than it had been in since the commencement of the war, and in truth brought it to the brink of ruin :—a decisive proof that it was from the commercial intercourse she maintained with her *own descendants*, that Great Britain derived the principal part of the resources with which she maintained the contest, and that no misfortunes were to be regarded as irreparable, but such as severed them from each other.

V. The danger, however, of a nation's depending to a great extent on its colonial dependencies is, that they desert it in the hour of danger, and thus, what had been the main source of its strength, becomes the principal cause of its weakness. The dissolution of the Lacedæmonian confederacy after the battle of Leuctra, the defection of the Athenian colonies after the disaster of Aigospotamos, of the Carthaginian on the invasion of Scipio, of the Roman after the slaughter of Cannæ, prove on how insecure a foundation the prosperity of a state in general rests which depends on the allegiance of its distant possessions. In all parts of the British empire, however, the most perfect unanimity prevailed for carrying on the contest during the whole of its continuance ; and the flame of loyalty burnt as steadily on the shores of the St Lawrence, or the banks of the Ganges, as on those of the Thames, or in the plains of Yorkshire. It was this unanimity, beyond all question, which brought England triumphant through the perils of the contest : her only vulnerable point was Ireland, where unfortunately different feelings prevailed with a large part of the people. The secret of this extraordinary loyalty in all parts of the widely scattered British dominions, so different from what had hitherto been experienced among men, so bright a contrast to what had so recently been exhibited in its own North American colonies, is to be

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78.
Extraordi-
nary loyalty
of the Bri-
tish colonies
during the
war.

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79.
Which arose
from the
protective
system.

found in the *protective policy* which had so long been pursued by its government.

The inhabitants of the British colonies were not by nature different from other men ; but circumstances had rendered the policy of their rulers different. They were not the representatives of a part of the empire, but of the whole : they pursued a policy for the general good, not merely of the dominant island ; hence it was for the advantage of the whole colonies to remain constant to the parent state. The great and varied interests of the British empire, in all parts of the globe, had silently worked their way into the legislature : purchase of seats in parliament had opened its gates on the footing of nominal corruption and real independence ; the East and West Indies were as effectually represented through the medium of Gatton and Old Sarum, bought with wealth acquired in their service, as Westminster or Yorkshire were by the voice of their numerous constituents. Talent, readily enlisted under the banner of one or other party, found an easy entrance into the legislature under the same system ; and not being constrained to bend to the wishes of an interested body of home electors, supported the policy which appeared conducive to the general interests of the empire. Nothing, it was evident, could secure the allegiance of distant possessions but attention to their interests, and the command of the sea. Hence the protective policy, which for a century and a half formed the ruling principle of British legislation, and of which the Navigation Laws, so vital in their effects to our maritime interests, were but a part. Similar enactments, multiplied to an incredible extent, secured to the parent state and all its colonies the benefits of mutual intercourse. Heavy discriminating duties restrained the competition of rival states. Protection to native industry, at home and abroad, was the unseen but powerful chain which, through all the chances of war, retained the whole in firm and willing allegiance to the government of Great

Britain. The navy of England gave that security to their commercial intercourse without which it could not have been carried on. The ocean became the highway for their mutual communication. No state could hope to obtain a share in this lucrative commerce but such as was either neutral or protected by the British flag. So strongly was this felt by the planters in the French and Dutch colonies towards the end of the war, that they desired nothing so much as to be incorporated with the British dominions; and when an English expedition appeared off their coasts, they in secret prayed for its success, and no real resistance was made except by the regular forces.

VI. Vain, however, would have been the numerous advantages, physical and political, which Great Britain enjoyed during the contest, if a fortunate combination of circumstances, joined to uncommon wisdom on the part of its government, had not established a system of CURRENCY in the heart of the empire, adequate to the wants of its immense dependencies, capable of *expansion* at will, according to the necessities of the times, and not liable to be drawn off at particular periods by the balances of trades or the military necessities of foreign states. No amount of metallic treasures could have been adequate to the wants of such an empire during such a contest; if the whole gold and silver of the world had been brought together, it would have proved unequal to the combined necessities of the government and the people. The vast and imperious demand for the precious metals, and especially gold, for the use and maintenance of the immense armies contending on the Continent, of necessity and frequently drained away nearly the whole precious metals from the country, at the very time when they were most required for the support of domestic credit, or the cost of warlike establishments. When such a drain for specie set in from foreign parts, certain ruin must have ensued, if the empire had possessed no resources within itself to supply the place of the precious metals

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80.
Expansive
system of
paper cur-
rency in
Great Bri-
tain.

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which were taken away. But such resources did exist, and were managed with a combined liberality and caution, which gave the country the whole benefits of a paper currency, without any of the danger with which it is attended. In February 1797, when the vast abstraction of specie from the British islands, owing to the campaigns of the preceding year in Italy and Germany, joined to an extraordinary run upon the banks, arising from a panic at home, had brought matters to extremities, the Bank of England was on the verge of bankruptcy, and the nation within a hairbreadth of ruin. But Mr Pitt was at the helm, and his firmness and foresight not only surmounted the crisis, but drew from it the means of establishing the currency of the country on such a footing as enabled it to bid defiance, throughout the whole remainder of the war, alike to foreign disaster and internal embarrassment. To the suspension of cash payments by the act of 1797, and the power in consequence vested in the Bank of England of *expanding* its paper circulation in proportion to the abstraction of the metallic currency and the wants of the country, and resting the national industry on a basis not liable to be taken away, either by the mutations of commerce or the necessities of war, the salvation of the empire is beyond all question to be ascribed.

81.
Wonderful
effects of
this towards
the close of
the war.

A similar crisis, and from a similar cause, occurred in 1810, but it led to no injurious results ; on the contrary, it was contemporary with the greatest exertions of the nation. The prodigious absorption of specie for the use of the French and Austrian armies during the campaign of 1809, joined to the immense cost of the campaign in Portugal, and the importation of one million five hundred thousand quarters of wheat, to supply the deficiencies of a bad harvest in 1810, had occasioned so great a dearth of specie in Great Britain, in the latter year, that gold and silver had almost entirely disappeared from the circulation, and a *light* guinea was worth twenty-five, and

sometimes as much as twenty-seven shillings. But what then? The banks increased their issues in a similar proportion: that of the Bank of England was raised to £21,000,000; its discounts reached £20,000,000 in a single year. All other banks did the same: the paper circulation in England alone, before the close of the war, reached £48,000,000; that of the two islands, £60,000,000 sterling. By this means, not only was the crisis surmounted without difficulty, but a hundred and thirty thousand combatants, with forty ships of the line, were assembled around Lisbon, which hurled back the French legions from the lines of Torres Vedras, and in the three last years of the war, while not a guinea was to be found in England, all the armies of Europe were arrayed in British pay on the Rhine and the Pyrenees. A commercial and monetary crisis in 1810, which, beyond all question, under our present system, would have involved the nation and all the commercial interests in a general public and private bankruptcy, was not only surmounted without distress, but the property of the industrious classes was unimpaired during its whole continuance; and the nation commenced in the middle of it those gigantic efforts which at length turned the tide against France, and brought the contest to a glorious termination.* It is remarkable that this admirable

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* Table showing the notes in circulation, price of gold the ounce, commercial paper under discount at the Bank, exports and imports of Great Britain from 1810 to 1815:—

Years.	Bank of England notes.	Private banks.	Total.	Price of gold the ounce.	Commer- cial paper under dis- count at bank.	Exports, Official value.	Imports, Declared value.	Revenue yearly.
	L.	L.	L.	L. s. d.	L.	L.	L.	L.
1810	21,019,609	No return		4 10 0	20,070,600	34,061,901	37,613,294	67,144,542
1811	23,360,220			4 17 6	14,355,490	22,684,400	25,240,704	65,173,545
1812	23,480,320			4 15 0	14,291,600	29,508,508	24,923,922	65,037,850
1813	23,210,930				12,280,200	Rees, des.		68,748,363
1814	24,801,080	22,700,000	47,501,000	5 8 0	13,285,800	34,207,253	32,622,771	71,134,503
1815	27,261,650	19,011,000	46,272,650	4 9 0	14,217,000	42,875,996	31,822,053	72,210,512
1816	27,013,620	15,096,000	43,291,900	3 19 0	11,416,400	35,717,071	26,374,921	62,264,546

See Appendix, A, Chap. xcvi. The table in the Appendix, A, Chap. xcvi. contains, the author believes, the most complete picture of the statistics of Great Britain, during and for thirty years after the war, which is anywhere to

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system, which may truly be called the moving power of the nation during the war, became towards its close the object of the most determined hostility on the part both of the great capitalists and the chief writers on political economy in the country. Here, however, as everywhere else, experience, the great test of truth, has determined the question. The adoption of the opposite system of *contracting* the paper in proportion to the abstraction of the metallic currency, by the acts of 1819 and 1844, (followed as it was necessarily by the monetary crises of 1825, 1839, and 1847,) has demonstrated beyond a doubt that it was in the system of an *expansive currency* that Great Britain during the war found the sole means of its salvation. And if any doubt could exist on this subject, it would be removed by the experience of the disastrous years 1847 and 1848, during which, without any external calamity, and when at peace with all the world, the mere abstraction of eighteen millions of sovereigns to purchase foreign grain under the free-trade system, produced universal and unexampled distress, and induced such a convulsion in the country as reduced the revenue, drawn with difficulty from twenty-eight millions of souls, to £51,250,000 ; and sent above two hundred and fifty thousand emigrants each year out of the country ; while in 1810, under a far greater abstraction of the precious metals, universal prosperity prevailed, and £67,144,000 was without any effort raised from eighteen millions of inhabitants, without any of them being driven to seek their bread in distant lands.*

82.
The establishment of the Protestant religion in Britain.

VII. The preceding causes refer chiefly to the physical advantages, external circumstances, and political policy of the British empire during the war. But, in addition to these, there were two circumstances of a *moral* nature of paramount importance, which combined to produce the

be met with in a similar space ; and he may say this without vanity, as there is not a single word or figure in it his own composition.

* Appendix, A, Chap. xcv.

same result. The first of these was the existence of the PROTESTANT, as the established religion of Great Britain. It would ill become, indeed, the historian of these eventful times, whose pleasing duty it has been to record the many deeds of heroism and virtue which have been displayed by the adherents of the Roman Catholic faith, to dispute that it is capable of producing the most elevated and ennobling dispositions. As little will any one impressed with the principles of true religion arrogate to his own persuasion any exclusive profession of the doctrines requisite to salvation, or imagine that the gates of Heaven will not be thrown open as wide to those equally obedient to the precepts of Christianity, in whatever tenets circumstances or parentage may have brought them up. But, looking to the peculiar situation in which Great Britain was placed during the Revolutionary war, and the necessity which existed for strenuous exertion in all classes, it appears equally certain that, but for the establishment of the Reformed faith in the majority and most energetic part of its inhabitants, it must have sunk in the conflict. Spain exhibits a memorable instance of the manner in which a faith which paralyses the intellectual freedom of the human soul, may depress and in the end ruin the national resources even of the greatest state, though founded on the most unbounded natural advantages;—France, of the way in which the attempt to force sacerdotal supremacy upon an age of intellectual activity, may tear up the whole foundations of society, and involve the best interests of mankind in ruin;—Ireland, of the melancholy retention of a people in a state of barbarity, when its neighbours are far advanced in industry and civilisation, from the adherence to religious observances fit only for the rudest ages.

The Roman Catholic is the transition faith from heathenism to Christianity, retaining enough of forms to attract the illiterate multitude, embracing as much of reality as may sway more enlightened minds, and produce

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83.

Difference
in the Ro-
mish and
Protestant
faith, which
produces
this.

innumerable blessings. As such, it has done, in the earlier stages of society, and in many places is still doing, immense service to mankind ; but is it the religion fitted to unite together the high and the low, the learned and the ignorant, the industrious and the affluent, in an age of the highest intellectual activity, and to call out in the utmost degree the physical and mental energies of all classes of the community ? There is no candid and attentive observer of human affairs who will assert that it is. The submission to authority in matters of faith, so valuable as an element of social tranquillity, is eminently prejudicial, and generally in the end proves fatal, to independence and activity of thought. Mind cannot long remain active, if uncontrolled speculation on the subjects most momentous and interesting to man is forbidden. The superior mental achievements and political energy of the Protestant states of Europe to the Roman Catholic, admitted by all candid historians of whatever creed, is a sufficient proof of this. A Roman Catholic population could never have spread as the Protestant has done in the wilds of America ; witness the stationary Canadian *habitants* or corrupted Mexican grandees, beside the sturdy Anglo-Saxons, with the Bible in their pockets and the axe in their hands. The spirit of Protestantism is essentially allied with great exertions of industry and commerce : that of the ancient faith is more akin to the stateliness of territorial aristocracy and the fervour of unlettered devotion. It was this difference which gave the Dutch the advantage over all the forces of the Spanish monarchy, and in the end established the independence of the United Provinces. The latter produced the glorious but short-lived and flickering blaze of Vendean and Tyrolese heroism ; but it is to the former we must look for the mainspring of the steady and continuous efforts of English perseverance and patriotism which were alone equal to the successful maintenance of the conflict.

VIII. Akin to this circumstance of its religion having

been that of the Protestant faith, is another feature in the conduct of Great Britain, perhaps arising from it, which beyond all question had a most material influence upon the issue of the contest, especially in its later stages. This is the lofty spirit and noble principles maintained both by the government and people during its continuance. It would be going, indeed, too far to assert that all the measures of Great Britain during the war were dictated by the purest motives, or executed in the most honourable manner. The English are men, and in their conduct, nationally and individually, is to be found the usual proportion of the frailties and vices of the sons of Adam. Selfishness sometimes swayed their intentions ; inexperience frequently paralysed their counsels ; ignorance often rendered nugatory their valour. But that their conduct upon the whole was less open to reproach than that of their antagonists, that they contended throughout for the best interests of humanity and freedom, and that their sway has generally speaking proved a blessing to the countries subdued by their power or liberated by their arms, is decisively proved by two circumstances. The first of these is the unanimous resurrection of all the nations of Europe against the French domination, and their cordial union with the arms of Great Britain, after the effects of the opposite principles on which those powers had maintained the conflict had been ascertained by experience. The second, the astonishing fact that the immense colonial empire of England, in every part of the world, maintained an unshaken loyalty to the mother country during all the vicissitudes of the war ; and that, since its termination, a hundred millions of men in India, embracing the bravest and most warlike states of Asia, have been kept in willing subjection to the British government, situated at fourteen thousand miles' distance, and which never had a European force of thirty thousand men in the East at its disposal. The extreme difficulty which the French have experienced, with the aid of seventy

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84.

The noble
principles
on which
the war was
conducted
by Great
Britain.

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85.
Excessive
length to
which this
generous
spirit was
carried.

thousand soldiers, in retaining possession of a strip of land on the coast of Africa, within four days' sail of Toulon, proves that the main reliance of such distant settlements, in old states, must be on the attachment of the native population, founded on the experienced protection of their interests.

It is not surprising that the English government, during the war, should in so remarkable a manner have succeeded in winning the respect and securing the co-operation of men. The principles on which it maintained the contest, the objects for which throughout it contended, were of the most elevated kind. The British people fought from first to last for the defence of religion and order — for the preservation of the liberty of mankind, and for no selfish or ambitious objects of their own. The proof of this is decisive. They were in the end victorious in the strife ; and, when they had the power, they appropriated none of the spoils of the conquered to themselves. Not one acre of France was taken ; almost all her colonies were restored. Java was given back, with perhaps imprudent generosity ; and Great Britain had the magnanimity to exact no severer terms from her vanquished enemy, with her capital taken, and her emperor a prisoner, than she had announced at the outset, as the grounds on which she had taken up arms,* and the conditions on which, at the darkest period of the conflict, she had declared she would alone lay them down. Even after she had been provoked by the return of Napoleon from Elba, and heated by the fearful chances of the Waterloo campaign, she exacted for herself none of the spoils of the conquered : no statues or pictures from Paris graced the return of Wellington to London ; as those from Italy and Germany had done the triumphs of Napoleon ; and the whole of

* Compare the note of the English government to the cabinet of St Petersburg, 29th January 1792, Chap. ix. § 123 ; the note of Mr Pitt to the same cabinet, January 11, 1805, Chap. xxxix. § 9 ; and Appendix, A, to same chapter ; and the treaties of Paris, 1814 and 1815, Chap. lxxxix. § 47, and Chap. xcvi. § 24.

the share falling to England from the war contributions then for the first time exacted from France, was given up to the ally who owed its existence to her generosity.* So far was this generous disposition carried, that Napoleon made it a matter of serious reproach against Lord Castlereagh at St Helena, that he forgot altogether the interests of his own country in the peace, and gained for England no other benefit from the sacrifices which had preceded it, but the stars and ribbons bestowed on himself by the Allied powers.† Nor was the conduct of England during the contest unworthy of the principles on which it had been undertaken and maintained. Whatever faults she committed, and they were many, were to her own loss and the oppression of herself alone. No war contributions or confiscations attended her armies when they landed in Europe; no authorised and organised system of plunder relieved her of the burdens of the contest, at the expense of the inhabitants of the conquered territories. Her immense expenditure and unexampled war contributions were levied upon her own inhabitants alone. No neutral or allied powers had to rue the day when she made peace. She concluded it without exacting cessions save of a few inconsiderable colonies, either from her enemies or friends. So strict was the discipline maintained by her chiefs even in the enemy's territory, that

* The King of the Netherlands, who received it to reconstruct the barrier against France in the Low Countries.

† "If," said Napoleon, "your ministers had paid attention to the interests of your country, instead of intriguing, they would have rendered you the most happy and flourishing nation in the world. At the conclusion of the war, they should have said to the Spanish and Portuguese governments,— 'we have saved your country; we alone have supported you, and prevented your falling a prey to France; we have made many campaigns, and our best blood has been shed in your defence; we have expended many millions of money, and consequently, the nation is overburdened with debt on your account, which we must pay; you have the means of repaying us. We demand, therefore, that we shall be the only nation allowed to trade with South America during twenty years, and that our ships shall have the same privileges with Spanish vessels. Who could say *no* to this? It would only have been a just demand, and none of the Allied powers could deny your right to exact it; for it was through you alone, and the energy you displayed, that both Spain and Portugal did not fall. You might have asked, who saved Por-

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¹ *Ante*, ch.
lxxxvii. §
35.² *Ante*, ch.
xcv. § 15.

their own generals confessed that "every peasant wished to be placed under his protection;"¹ and the first act of Louis XVIII., on his second restoration to the throne, was to thank the Duke of Wellington and his officers, in presence of his whole court, for the protection they had bestowed on his unhappy subjects.²

86.
Principles
of decay
implanted
in the Bri-
tish empire
by its suc-
cess in the
strife.

Such, so far as at present can be discerned, were the principal causes which gave Great Britain the final victory in this protracted and memorable contest. But immortality is not the destiny of communities any more than of single men; and sin has brought death to nations not less than individuals. Out of the triumph of the conquerors have arisen evils as great, selfishness as intense, dangers as pressing, as have attached to the vanquished from the entire overthrow of society. The victory of property has been attended with as great a destruction of vested interests, a disregard of the rights of others, in some respects as complete as that of numbers in the adjoining kingdom. The inherent corruption of mankind has appeared as strongly in the victors after the contest was over, as in the vanquished before it commenced. It is in the selfishness of the dominant class, the growth of their desires, and the dereliction of their principles from the very effects of their success, that the causes of

tugal? who alone assisted you with men and money, besides having saved your existence as a nation. As it now is, France will soon have the trade to the Brazils. Another piece of folly in your ministers was, in allowing any other nation but yourselves to trade with India. If you had made these demands, they must have been granted; and the powers of Europe would not have been more jealous of you than they now are, and always will be as long as you have the dominion of the seas, and insist on the right of search. You would then have had the means of keeping up your maritime empire, which must decay, if you have not more commerce than the rest of the world. England has played for everything or nothing; she has gained all, effected impossibilities, yet has nothing; and her people are starving, and worse than they were during the midst of the war."—O'MEARA, i. 261, 264. Without asserting that all these strictures of Napoleon's are well founded, it may at least be confidently asserted, that they demonstrate, on the best of all evidence, that of an able and unwilling witness, the *disinterested* principles on which England maintained the contest, and concluded the peace.

these disastrous results are to be found. Prosperity, both in France and England, has produced its usual effect of developing the seeds of evil, by increasing the sway of selfish desires in the classes in these respective countries which have obtained the mastery. In the former have been exemplified the disasters which would have resulted from the triumph of Gracchus in the Roman republic : in the latter, the principles of ruin which, from the continued ascendant of the patricians, at length overturned the vast and splendid fabric of the Roman empire. It will be the duty of a future historian to unfold the causes which have in this manner prepared the decline and fall of the British empire : it has been the more agreeable province of him whose labours are concluding, to trace the progress of its rise and greatness. Yet a few observations will not be misplaced on the social results which have in this country attended its magnificent triumphs ; for subsequent experience has unfolded many of the causes of past prosperity, and the difficulties with which we are now surrounded throw the clearest light on the wisdom of the measures by which those of former times have been surmounted.

It need be told to none of this generation—it will be painfully evident to posterity—in what serious embarrassments Great Britain has been involved since the peace. In truth, they have been so great and pressing, that it is hard to say whether they have not exceeded all the dangers and difficulties of the war. Barely concealed beneath the splendid surface of highly advanced civilisation, lie smouldering the sparks of a conflagration which may, at no distant period, involve the empire in ruin. If its fall is not sudden from a maritime disaster, like that at Aigospotamos, which at once destroyed the Athenian republic, it will assuredly dwindle away under the causes which undermined the vast fabric of Roman power. Already they are to be seen in full and portentous activity amongst us. The wealth of individuals, and poverty

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87.
Present
evils which
threaten the
the British
empire.

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of the state, the luxury of the rich, and misery of the poor, the progressive and oppressive weight of direct taxation, the impossibility of maintaining an establishment of land and sea forces equal to the necessities of a wide-spread dominion, the indifference of the affluent to the sufferings of the destitute, the exasperation of the many at the fortunes of the few, the increasing dependence of the nation on foreign supplies of food, the constant drain thence resulting upon its metallic resources; the ceaseless growth of debt, the progressive diminution in the remuneration of labour, the prostration of the interests of rural before the ascendant of urban activity, the continued growth of crime, and failure of all efforts either to deter or check it, the appalling increase of pauperism, and extension of the reckless habits among the working classes which produce it, so often and feelingly complained of by the historians of antiquity, are precisely applicable to the British empire at this time.*

88.
Symptoms
of decay in
the British
empire since
the peace.

If we are not threatened by a hostile girdle of barbarous nations thirsting for the spoils of the empire, our dangers are not less real from the ill-disguised jealousy of civilised ambition: if half our population are not slaves, a seventh of them are already paupers,† in still more deplorable circumstances: if we are not reduced to look to the harvests of Egypt and Lybia for our daily bread, free trade is preparing a similar dependence on those of

* "Pro his nos habemus luxuriam atque avaritiam: *publice egestatem, privatim opulentiam*; laudamus divitias, sequimur inertiam; inter bonos et malos nullum discrimen; omnia virtutis præmia ambitio possidet."—SALLUST, *Bell. Cat.*

Paupers relieved in England.		Paupers in United Kingdom, 1844.	
† 1843,	1,307,899	England,	1,250,000
1844,	1,249,682	Ireland,	2,300,000
		Scotland,	200,000
<hr/>			
3,750,000			

or a *seventh* of the whole population nearly, which was (in 1844), 27,500,000—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 82, 91, 2d edition; and ALISON'S *England in 1815 and 1845*, p. 12.

Poland and America.* Serious crime during the last forty years has advanced in the British islands *ten times* as fast as the numbers of the people; all the efforts of philanthropy and instruction seem unable to restrain it.† Population in the manufacturing districts has not only outgrown the means, but extinguished in a large class the desire of religious instruction; the sinking-fund, after thirty years' cessation of hostilities, has, on an average of years, disappeared; recourse has been found to be unavoidable, even during profound peace, to the *ultimum remedium* of direct taxation; the proportion of foreign vessels which carry on our commerce is steadily and rapidly increasing;‡ and with a population twice as numerous, and resources four times as great as they were

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* In fifteen months from August 1846, when free trade was introduced, to November 1847, Great Britain imported 14,200,000 quarters of foreign grain, though the harvest of 1847 was uncommonly fine; and the money sent abroad for this prodigious supply, nearly a fourth of the annual consumption of the nation, was £23,560,000 sterling.—*Chancellor of Exchequer's Speech, Nov. 30, 1847.*

† Committals in England.	Committals in England.	Population of England.
1805, 4605	1840, 27,187	8,900,000 in 1805
1806, 4346	1841, 27,760	
1807, 4446	1842, 31,309	
1809, 5330	1843, 29,591	
1810, 5146	1844, 26,542	
1811, 5337	1845, 24,303	15,500,000 in 1845

This shows an increase of crime above six-fold in forty years; while during the same time the population has only advanced from eighty-nine to one hundred and fifty-five, or as nine to fifteen—that is, about *sixty per cent.* Crime, therefore, has increased ten times as fast as the numbers of the people. In Scotland, the growth of crime has been still more rapid.—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 2d edition, pp. 8 and 642.

‡ Comparative growth of British and foreign shipping from 1816 to 1844 :—

Years.	British tons.	Foreign tons.	Total.	Years.	British tons.	Foreign tons.	Total.
1816	1,415,723	379,465	1,795,188	1831	2,367,322	874,605	3,241,927
1817	1,625,121	445,011	2,070,132	1832	2,185,980	639,979	2,825,959
1818	1,886,394	762,437	2,648,831	1833	2,183,814	762,085	2,945,899
1819	1,809,128	542,684	2,351,812	1834	2,298,263	833,905	3,132,168
1820	1,668,060	447,611	2,115,671	1835	2,442,734	866,990	3,309,724
§1821	1,599,274	396,256	1,995,530	1836	2,505,473	988,899	3,494,372
1822	1,664,186	469,151	2,133,337	1837	2,617,166	1,005,940	3,623,106
1823	1,740,859	582,996	2,323,855	1838	2,785,387	1,211,666	3,997,053
1824	1,797,320	759,441	2,556,761	1839	2,101,650	1,331,365	4,433,015
1825	2,144,598	958,132	3,102,730	1840	3,197,501	1,460,294	4,657,795
1826	1,950,630	694,116	2,644,746	1841	3,361,211	1,291,165	4,612,376
1827	2,086,898	751,864	2,839,762	1842	3,294,725	1,205,303	4,500,028
1828	2,094,357	634,620	2,728,977	1843	3,545,346	1,301,958	4,847,296
1829	2,184,525	710,303	2,894,828	1844	3,647,463	1,402,138	5,049,601
1830	2,180,042	758,828	2,938,870	1845	4,310,639	1,735,079	6,045,718

§ Reciprocity system introduced.

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 406, 2d edition.

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89.
Vast changes
in our social
policy since
the peace.
The cur-
rency sys-
tem.

in 1792, and a colonial empire of triple the magnitude to defend, we have not half the effective navy at our disposal which we had when the war broke out.

Various changes of the most important kind in our internal and external policy since the peace have co-existed with these remarkable features in our social condition. First, and most important in its consequences, has been the great alteration in the monetary system of the empire by the act of 1819, compelling the Bank of England to resume payments in cash, followed by those of 1826, prohibiting the issue of one-pound notes by all English banks, and of 1844, restricting the issue of paper by the Bank of England, on any other security but an equal amount of specie in its coffers, to £14,000,000 sterling, with similar acts for Scotland and Ireland. Without pronouncing an opinion on abstract grounds in this work on the expedience of these changes, the effects of which have not yet been fully ascertained by experience, it may be observed, that it has already (1849) been decisively proved that they have added fifty per cent to the weight of all debts, and taken as much from the remuneration of productive labour throughout the empire ; that they have extinguished, practically speaking, the sinking-fund, and rendered indirect taxes so unproductive, that a recurrence to direct taxation, even in a period of profound peace, has become unavoidable : that they have compelled government to starve down the military and naval establishments of the empire to a degree inconsistent with its security, and which may ere long endanger its independence ; and have rendered it more difficult now to raise fifty millions a-year from twenty-eight millions of men, than in the latter years of the war it was to raise seventy millions a-year from eighteen millions. And if it be said that these evils were unavoidable, and the price which the nation pays for shunning the dangers of an unrestricted issue of paper,—the South American madness of 1824 and 1825, followed by the dreadful monetary crisis in the close of the latter year ; the joint-stock mania of

1835 and 1836, succeeded by the severe and protracted depression from 1838 to 1843; and the railway mania of 1845, terminating in the awful and protracted monetary crisis of 1847, sufficiently demonstrate that the metallic system affords no security against these dangers, but, on the contrary, by rendering commercial credit dependent on the plenty or scarcity of that most shifting and evanescent of earthly things, a gold currency, in the highest degree aggravates them.*

The great monetary change of 1819 was followed, two years afterwards, by one equally important to our maritime interests. In February 1821 Mr Huskisson introduced the *reciprocity system*, by which Great Britain announced its determination to admit the ships of all nations, which would agree to the proposal, into her harbours, on the same terms on which they admitted hers. Experience has in like manner already demonstrated the effect of this system. The foreign tonnage employed in carrying on the trade of Great Britain—which, as already shown, rapidly declined, while the British as rapidly increased throughout the whole war, and for eight years after its termination,¹—at once began to gain the ascendancy upon that change being introduced; until now, instead of the British shipping employed in carrying on the commerce of the empire being quadruple the foreign, it is barely double it.†

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90.
The reci-
procity
system.

¹ *Ante*, ch.
xcv. § 65,
note.

* See Appendix, A, Chap. xcv. for the proof of these observations.

† Years.	BRITISH.		FOREIGN.		TOTAL.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
1819	11,974	1,809,128	4,215	542,684	16,189	2,351,812
1820	11,285	1,668,060	3,472	447,611	14,757	2,115,671
1821	10,810	1,599,274	3,261	396,256	14,071	1,995,630
1822	11,087	1,664,186	3,389	469,151	14,476	2,133,337
1840	17,833	3,197,501	10,198	1,460,294	28,081	4,657,795
1841	18,525	3,361,211	9,527	1,291,165	28,052	4,652,376
1842	18,987	3,294,725	8,654	1,205,303	27,041	4,500,028
1843	19,500	3,545,346	8,541	1,301,950	28,041	4,847,296
1844	19,687	3,647,463	9,608	1,402,138	29,295	5,049,601
1845	21,001	4,310,639	11,651	1,735,079	32,652	6,045,718

—*Parl. Tables*; and *Progress of the Nation*, ii. 174; and 406, 2d edition.

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In ten years more, at the same rate of progress, the foreign shipping employed in carrying on the trade of Great Britain will be equal to its own, and in ten more it will *greatly exceed it*. The moment that occurs, the independence of the empire will be a mere name; for what reliance can a maritime state place on its means of defence, if it has reared up, in conducting its own traffic, a body of foreign seamen superior to its own, who may at any moment be ranged in hostility against it? Vain, worse than vain, in such an event, would be the magnitude of its exports, and the vast extent of its manufacturing industry. Of what avail would be the hundred and thirty millions of foreign exports if hostile fleets blockaded the Thames, the Mersey, and the Clyde? Like a beleaguered city encumbered with useless mouths, it would only find in the multitude who produced them a burden which would compel its speedy surrender. Less conspicuous to the unthinking many, because less prejudicial to general interests, this great change in our policy is even more formidable in its consequences than the alteration in our monetary system, from which such wide-spread financial distress has followed; for it strikes at the national independence, on which all our other blessings depend. Yet, such is the disregard of remote consequences in the great majority of men, when their interests or supposed interests are concerned, that this main security of our independence has already been swept away, and the Navigation Laws, the bulwark of our navy, numbered among the things that have been.

91.
Passing of
the Reform
Bill.

So many alterations in the political and religious policy of the empire could not have been adopted without inducing a change, gradual or violent, in its government. The misery produced was so general, that a large portion of the people became not only indifferent to, but desirous of change—the shock given to established feelings, perhaps prejudices, so violent, that the main bulwark against

innovation was cast down. So many of the commercial classes in particular, who earned their livelihood by buying and selling, had been involved in difficulties or insolvency by the constant fall in the price of commodities which followed the contraction of the currency, that the desire for an extension of political power became universal amongst them, from the belief that it would enable them to ward off these effects. So profound were the feelings of indignation which pervaded a large part of those who were strongly impressed with religious feelings, from the manner in which Catholic emancipation had been carried, that they too had come to think some change had become indispensable, or, from resentment at its authors, resolved not to oppose it. Amidst a "chaos of unanimity," as it has been well styled, produced by these causes, the Reform Bill was carried : the close boroughs, the channel of colonial representation, were closed ; and the government of the empire was vested, with scarcely any control, in a million electors of Great Britain and Ireland.

It was foreseen and predicted at the time,* what subsequent events have abundantly verified, that the effect of this great change would be to break up the bond of union which had hitherto in so wonderful a manner held together the British empire, and by impelling the national policy into measures dictated by the selfish

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92.
Its tendency
to break up
the empire.

* "This consideration points to the fundamental and irremediable defect of the proposed constitution, that it vests an overwhelming majority in the *populace of these islands*, to the exclusion of the other great and weighty interests of the British empire. By vesting the right of returning members to parliament in forty-shilling freeholders in the counties, and ten-pound tenants in towns, the command of the legislature will be placed in hands inaccessible, save by actual bribery, to the approach of the colonial or shipping interests. If such a change does not produce a revolution, it must in the end lead to the dismemberment of the empire. The East and West Indian and Canadian dependencies will not long submit to the rule of the populace in the *dominant island*, indifferent to their interests, ignorant of their circumstances, careless of their welfare. This evil is inherent in any system of *uniform representation*, and must, to the end of time, render it unfit for the legislature of a great and varied empire. Being based mainly upon one class of society, which under the proposed system will be that of shopkeepers, it contains no pro-

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desires of the majority in the *dominant island*, without any regard to the interests of the unrepresented colonies, render probable, if not certain, at no distant period, their separation from the parent state, and consequent ruin of its maritime superiority. Such an effect has already taken place, or is in the course of being realised. Canada has broken into open revolt, and only a slender bond still attaches it to the parent state; the West Indies have been prevented from following the example only by the entire prostration of their resources, under the effects of Negro emancipation; and the discontent produced by the abolition of the benefit of colonial protection, from the consequences of free trade, renders it a matter of certainty that, on the first serious reverse to the state, they will, like the colonies of Athens or Carthage on a similar crisis, and from a similar cause, declare themselves independent, or openly range themselves under the banner of our enemies.

93.

The Reform movement is turned into the desire for free trade, which is carried.

So vast was the power enjoyed by the leaders of the Reform movement under the first parliament returned by the new constitution, so vehemently was a large part of the nation set upon revolutionary measures, that if they had chosen to have gone on in the career, the British constitution was at an end. Beyond all question they might have abolished the house of peers, confiscated the church property, annihilated the national debt,

vision for the interests of the other classes, and still less for the welfare of the remote but important parts of the empire. These remote possessions being unrepresented, can have no influence on the electors but by the corrupt channel of actual bribery. The most valuable feature of the British constitution, that of affording an inlet through the close boroughs to all the great and varied interests of the empire, will be destroyed. The Reform Bill in this view should be entitled 'a bill for *disfranchising the colonial and shipping interests*, and vesting the exclusive right of returning members to parliament in the populace of Great Britain and Ireland.'—*On Parliamentary Reform and the French Revolution*, No. V.; *Blackwood's Magazine*, May 1, 1831. The author, at the distance of twenty years, can reflect with satisfaction that he has nothing to unsay or regret in a prediction made during the heat of the first discussions on the Reform Bill; and that subsequent events have tended only to demonstrate that his first anticipations of the effects of the measure were too true.

dethroned the sovereign. The besom of destruction was as firmly placed in their hands as ever it had been in those of Mirabeau and the Constituent Assembly. But in that eventful crisis the indelible influence of race appeared. The English character was not awanting to itself. With a temperance in the exercise of power, which is as worthy of praise as their conduct in the struggle for it had been of censure, government remained neutral, and suffered the period of national madness to pass over without attempting any further subversion of our fundamental institutions. By degrees the public mind recovered its equilibrium. The national character, essentially practical save in moments of delirium, reappeared. Discarding all theoretical plans of remodelling the state, the people set themselves to procure the removal of those restrictions which impeded, or were thought to impede, the free exercise of industry. Like their Saxon ancestors six centuries before, when political power was for the first time extended to the boroughs by Earl Leicester, the urban population of Great Britain bent their whole efforts to the abolition of the custom-house burdens, which interfered with the liberty of buying and selling—and the import duties, which gave protection to the produce of rural industry.*

Changes so great in the policy of the empire, deviations so marked from the system to which its former greatness had been owing, would appear inexplicable, if we did not

* "La convocation des députés bourgeois au parlement de 1264, fut une combinaison politique suggérée à Leicester par sa situation, plutôt qu'une nécessité que l'état social imposât déjà au pouvoir. Naguères aristocrate contre la royauté, il se fit démocrate contre l'aristocratie le jour où les villes par leur propre force auraient pris place dans le gouvernement central. Cette tentative fit faire un grand pas aux libertés du pays, mais son auteur en tira peu d'avantage. Les bourgeois, presque aussi étonnés que charmés de l'importance que leur accordait Leicester, se servirent de leur crédit pour affranchir leur commerce et se refuser au paiement des droits de douane, non pour fonder de concert avec lui un gouvernement durable." — GUIZOT, *Essais sur l'Histoire de France*, 475, 476. Is this the history of 1264 or 1832? of Earl Leicester's revolution or Earl Grey's reform? So identical is the same national spirit in its effects in similar circumstances in the most distant ages!

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94.

These
changes
arose from
the com-
mercial in-
terest hav-
ing got pos-
session of
power.

reflect that they have arisen from a *different class* in society having, from that very greatness, been elevated to power. Powerful as was the influence which the territorial aristocracy had for so long enjoyed, and which, save in moments of extraordinary excitement, had given them for centuries the direction of the empire, it had now come to be supplanted by another interest in the state, which had grown up under the shelter which the former had afforded to general industry. The commercial and manufacturing interests, which had so long prospered under the protective system established by the wisdom of former times, had received such an extraordinary development during the war with the French Revolution, and its effects on the colonial empire of Great Britain during the peace which followed it, that it had become irresistible. The territorial aristocracy of Great Britain was overturned by the very class which it had by its liberal policy elevated to greatness. The old fable was realised : the husbandman was stung to death by the serpent which he had warmed in his bosom. The two causes which produced this were the vast increase of commercial wealth under the protective system during the war, and the vast monetary change which that interest succeeded in inducing after the peace.

95.

Way in
which this
change arose
out of the
triumphs
of the war.

Strong as was the grasp which the Norman barons had laid upon the state, and which eight centuries had scarcely loosened, it was at length relaxed by the conquests won by the firmness of their descendants, which gave Great Britain the command of the commerce of the world. The land had won for commerce triumphs which proved fatal to itself. The act of 1819, compelling the bank of England to resume its cash payments, completed the victory of the mercantile interest ; for it at once added nearly a half to the effective amount of urban capital, and took nearly as much from the remuneration of rural industry. Wealth was overflowing in towns ; debt became universal in the country : ready money in the one party

became abundant ; the pressure of mortgages upon the other overwhelming. Twenty years of unprecedented prosperity, which had preceded the change, had only diminished the rural proprietors' means of resisting its effects ; for they had spread habits of expense among them which could not now be relinquished, and led to the contraction of debts which could not be discharged. The landholders, like all other classes who depended on the returns of labour, felt in their full intensity the pressure of these circumstances, but they had not practical acquaintance with monetary affairs to perceive from what cause their difficulties proceeded. They thought any change would improve their condition, and that an extended representation would increase their influence ; forgetting that wealth in a commercial state is the real source of power, and that their embarrassed fortunes would speedily yield to the skilfully directed assaults of combined urban capital. The great body of the people were readily carried away by the prospect of cheap bread ; they forgot its effect, if realised, on the wages of labour : the cry *Panem et Circenses* proved as powerful with the British as ever it had been with the Roman populace. To cheapen everything became the great object of policy, because it was thus that the trading class, in whom political power was substantially vested, hoped to be benefited. The capitalists joined in the measures, because they tended to magnify the real amount of their fortunes : the people were seduced into them, because they held out the delusive prospect of cheap provisions and greater value to their wages. Thus was the combination effected by which the constitution and social policy of Great Britain have been entirely changed ; and that, too, at the very time when the beneficial effects of the former system in both had been most strongly experienced, and from the effects of the very triumphs which they had induced. Nations, like individuals, were not destined to eternal duration ; in their greatness equally as their misfortunes

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96.
Striking
analogy
between
the social
condition
of Great
Britain,
and that of
the Roman
empire.

they find the seeds of mortality ; when their destined part is performed, they yield to the common fate of earthly things.

The slightest acquaintance with history must suggest to every candid observer the remarkable, and to us ominous, resemblance between the failures which have now been described in our social condition, springing out of the magnitude and extent of our successes, and those which characterised the greatest elevation, and undoubtedly occasioned the fall, of the Roman empire. So close indeed is this analogy, so striking this resemblance, that a description of the one might pass for a picture of the other. It is in recent times, in an especial manner, that it has become conspicuous, because it is then that the causes have come into operation which, at such distant periods, have produced effects so identical in the two states. Under different names, the same evils have reappeared. The gradual extinction of the old landed aristocracy, and substitution of a new race of moneyed magnates in their stead ; the continual growth of wealth in the rich, and of pauperism in the poor ; the eating in of usury into the vitals of the state ; the increasing encouragement of urban, and depression of rural industry ; the perilous dependence of the nation on foreign supplies for food ; the conversion of agriculture into pasturage, in the central provinces of the empire ; the difficulty of recruiting the legions from the country population ; the impossibility of doing so in towns ; the continual drain of the precious metals to distant countries, in the purchase of luxuries ; the necessity of sending them abroad for that of necessaries ; the consequent increase in the weight of direct taxes ; the failure in the produce of the indirect ; the difficulty in maintaining a land and sea force adequate to the defence of the widely extended frontiers of the empire, so often and strongly portrayed in the historians of antiquity, as the peculiarities which preceded the fall of Rome—have all their exact counterpart in the

social features by which we are surrounded. The difficulty of recruiting the imperial legions is equalled by the embarrassment experienced by Great Britain in the manning of the navy, or finding funds for the support of a sufficient army ; the drain of gold and silver to Egypt and Arabia, was identical with that we now suffer under to America and the Ukraine ; and if we are not as yet dependent on the harvests of Libya and Sicily for our daily bread, it is already evident that the time is not far distant when we shall be reduced to a similar dependence on those of America and Poland ; and the lives of the English, as of the Roman people, will be committed to the winds and the waves.*

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It is not surprising that the same political features should characterise the Roman and British empires at the periods of their highest exaltation ; for both have run the same course, and have come to be restrained by the same law of nature. To both a great and noble destiny was given ; both have worthily discharged it. The Roman legions bequeathed to the world the empires and laws of modern Europe ; the English navy has left to it the still more glorious inheritance of Transatlantic and Australian civilisation. But for neither was immortal duration intended. Other nations are to succeed in the same path, and forward yet further the designs of Providence. It is not to be wished that civilisation and power should be for ever centred round their ancient seats : their spread with the dispersion of mankind over the globe, forms an essential part of social advancement and the Divine administration. The provision made for this consists in two laws of permanent operation and eternal endurance, which impose a never-failing restraint on the growth of aged communities, and provide, in their very greatness and extension, the causes of their decline, and

97.
Which
arises from
both having
reached the
limit set
by nature
to the
growth of
empires.

* ——"Nunquam securi futuri,
Semper inops, ventique fidem poscebat et anni."
—CLAUDIAN, *De Bello Gildonico*, lines 64, 65.

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the transference of their dominion to other states. These laws are, that capital and knowledge, while they add indefinitely to manufacturing power, make no corresponding addition to the powers of rural labour ; and that whatever is plentiful and brought in large quantities to one spot, declines in value, and exposes the persons possessing it to disadvantage in exchange. We see this strongly exemplified at the present time ; for England, which can easily undersell India in cotton manufacture, applied to an article which grew on the banks of the Ganges, finds its cultivators undersold by Poland and America with grain raised on the Vistula and the Mississippi. It is the silent but ceaseless operation of these two laws that induces the old age of great nations, which have withstood the shock of war, and risen superior to all their neighbours, and insures that dispersion in civilised times of mankind, which is provided for in rude ages by the lust of conquest and roving habits of pastoral tribes.

98.
Way in
which this
effect takes
place.

When a nation becomes great and powerful, like Rome in ancient, or Great Britain in modern times, it necessarily draws the wealth of the world to itself. Money, being plentiful in its capital and chief places of business or pleasure, declines like every other plentiful thing in value. Money prices in consequence rise ; and this after a time is felt as an insupportable grievance by its inhabitants. The rich purchase their luxuries from foreign states, where they are raised cheaper, because the circulating medium is less plentiful : the poor clamour incessantly for the unrestricted admission of foreign grain, that they may have bread on as moderate terms as foreign labourers. Manufacturers and capitalists swell the cry and second their efforts, because, by introducing foreign produce raised at a small cost, they hope to augment the real value of their fortunes, and extend by cheapening the sale of their manufactures in foreign states. The richest and most numerous classes of the community being thus combined for one object, it soon becomes impossible to

resist its concession. Free trade in grain was imposed upon the Roman Emperors, as soon as their empire became extensive, not less by the clamours of their subjects in the centre, than by a sense of justice to those in the extremities of their empire. It has been imposed on Great Britain from no such sense of justice to the distant provinces of the empire, but, in direct opposition to their wishes and interests, by the selfish clamours of the urban constituencies in the dominant island, in whose hands the Reform Bill had placed a majority of the legislature.

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1815.

Thence the dependence of Rome on the harvests of Egypt and Libya, the ruin of Italian agriculture, the disappearance of Italian soldiers from the legions, the ruinous burden of direct taxes, the fall of the empire. England has reached the same limit ; the same passions have from similar causes appeared among its inhabitants, the same measures have been adopted by government, and the same effects will follow. In the incessant effort to cheapen everything, in order to obviate the effects of the very wealth which its greatness has produced, industry will be crushed, and the strength of the heart of the empire destroyed. All the great operations of nature are conducted by the laws which we see in daily operation around us. Would we see the formation of a continent, we have only to look at the deposit of a few inconsiderable rills : the same gravitation which makes a stone fall to the ground, restrains the planets in their courses. The simple fact that whatever is plentiful becomes cheap, and that when a state grows rich, its money prices rise, points to a law of nature which restrains the growth of empires, and has for ever rendered universal dominion impossible.

99.
Rome and
England
have reach-
ed the same
limit im-
posed by
nature.

Napoleon did not long survive the most distinguished of his old companions in arms. Although he was subjected to no restraint at St Helena, was permitted to ride over nearly the whole island, and enjoyed a degree of luxury and comfort, both in his habitation and in the

100.
Napoleon at
St Helena.

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1815.

society with which he was surrounded, which bore a striking contrast to the stern severity with which he had treated state prisoners ; yet his proud spirit chafed against the coercion of being confined at all to an island. The British government had given the most express instructions that he should be treated with all the respect due to his rank as a general, and with all the indulgence consistent with security against his escape ; but Sir Hudson Lowe, who was appointed to the military command of the island, proved an unhappy selection. His manner was rigid and unaccommodating, and his temper of mind, not softened by chivalrous ideas or high-bred society, was little calculated to alleviate the distress which the Emperor endured during his detention. A great impression, accordingly, was made upon the world by the publication of the St Helena memoirs, in which were interwoven exaggerated statements of the indignities to which he was said to have been subjected, with the interesting disquisitions and profound reflections, which will perhaps add as much to his fame with the thinking portion of mankind, as his great military achievements always must with the enthusiastic and enterprising.

101.
Conduct of
the British
government
towards
him.

But while all must regret that it should have been necessary, under any circumstances, to act with even seeming harshness towards so great a man, yet justice can see nothing to condemn in the conduct of the British government in this particular, whatever it may do as to want of courtesy in the governor of the island. It was indispensable to the peace of the world to prevent his escape ; and the expedition from Elba had shown, that no reliance could be placed either on his professions or his treaties. Detention and secure custody, therefore, were unavoidable ; and every comfort consistent with these objects was afforded him by the British government. He was allowed the society of the friends who had accompanied him in his exile ; he had books in abundance to amuse his leisure hours ; saddle-horses in profusion were

at his command ; he was permitted to ride several miles in one direction ; Champagne and Burgundy were his daily beverage ; and the bill of fare of his table, which is given by Las Cases as a proof of the severity of the British government, would be thought the height of luxury by most persons in a state of liberty.¹ If the English government had acted towards Napoleon as he did to others who opposed him, they would have shot him in the first ditch, as he did the Duc d'Enghien or Hofer, or shut him up in an Alpine fortress, as he did the Cardinal Pacca. Napoleon himself, when his better spirit returned, had greatness of mind enough to see how much his thoughts recorded during his exile would in the end add to his fame. "If I thought only," said he, "of myself, perhaps I would rejoice that I am here. Misfortune has its heroism and its glory. Adversity was wanting to my career. If I had died upon the throne, amidst the clouds of my power, I should have remained a problem to many ; now, thanks to adversity, they can judge me as I am."²

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¹ See Las Cases, iv. 447.

² Las Cases, i. 408.

But his mortal career in the scene of his exile and suffering was not destined to be of long duration. The vexation which he experienced at finding all the plans frustrated which had been formed—and they were many—for his escape, the fretting which he suffered from the sight of the English sentries round his dwelling, the recollection of his lost greatness, the prospect of endless detention, combined with a hereditary malady to produce severe complaints. He suffered much from these ; but it was at first hoped that they would yield to the skill of his medical attendants. Gradually, however, the affections became more severe ; and they at length assumed the decided symptoms of cancer in the stomach, to which his father had fallen a victim at a still earlier age. In February 1821, he became so rapidly worse, that, by the special directions of the Prince Regent, Lord Bathurst wrote to Sir Hudson Lowe to express his Royal High-

102.
His last illness and death.
May 5, 1821.

CHAP.
XCV.

1815.

ness's sympathy with his sufferings, and his wish, if possible, to relieve them. This mark of regard, however, came too late : towards the end of March his strength sank rapidly : he dictated his will, with a great variety of minute bequests ; but obstinately refused to take medicine, to which he had a great aversion. " All that is to happen," said he, " is written down : our hour is marked : we cannot prolong it a minute beyond what fate has predestined." He directed that his heart should be sent to the Empress Marie Louise at Parma, and his stomach examined, to see if he had died of the hereditary malady. At two o'clock on the 3d May he received extreme unction, declared that he died in the Roman Catholic faith, which had been that of his fathers, and gave minute directions for his body being laid in state in a *chapelle ardente*, according to the form of the Catholic worship. " Can you not," said he to Antomarchi, his physician, " believe in God, whose existence everything proclaims, and in whom the greatest minds have believed ? I am neither a philosopher nor a physician : I am of the religion of my fathers. Physicians believe only in matter : they have faith in nothing. You should be above such weakness." On the 5th, a violent storm of wind and rain arose : the death-struggle of Napoleon took place during its fury ; and the last words he was heard to utter were, "*Tête d'armée.*" He breathed his last at eleven minutes before six in the evening. In his will, which contained a vast number of bequests, were two very remarkable ones : the one was, a request " that his body might repose on the banks of the Seine, among the people whom he had loved so well ;" the other, a legacy of ten thousand francs to the assassin Cantillon, who had attempted recently before to murder the Duke of Wellington.¹

¹Napoleon's Testament. Antomarchi, ii. 229, 246, 312. Scott, ix. 296, 301. Chat. Mem. vii. 158.

103.
His interment at St Helena.

Napoleon had himself indicated the place in St Helena where he wished his remains to be interred, if they were not allowed to be removed to France. It was in a small hollow called Slane's Valley, where a fountain, shaded

with weeping willows, had long been a favourite spot for his meditations. The body, after lying in state as he had directed, was carried to the place of interment on the 8th of May. The whole members of his household, including the noble-hearted Bertrand, Count Montholon, and the other faithful friends who had shared his exile, and all the officers, naval and military, in the island, attended on the occasion. He was laid in the coffin in his three-cornered hat, military surtout, leather under-dress, and boots, as he appeared on the field of battle. As the hearse could not get up to the place of sepulture, a detachment of British grenadiers of the 66th and 20th regiments, then on duty in the island, bore him to the spot. The place of sepulture was consecrated by an English clergyman according to the form of the Church of England.* The coffin was lowered amidst the speechless emotion and tears of all present; three successive volleys of musketry and artillery announced that the mighty conqueror was laid in his grave; a simple stone, of great size, was placed over his remains; and the solitary willow wept over the tomb of him for whom the earth itself had once hardly seemed a fitting mausoleum.¹

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1815.

May 8.

¹ Scott's
Nap. ix.
294, 302.
Antom. ii.
180, 192.

Time rolled on, and brought its usual changes on its wings. The dynasty of the Restoration proved unequal to the arduous task of coercing the desires of the Revolution, weakened, but not extinguished, by the overthrow of Napoleon: a new generation arose, teeming with the passions and forgetful of the sufferings of former times; and the revolt of the Barricades restored the tricolor flag, and established a semi-revolutionary dynasty on the

104,
Removal of
his remains
from St
Helena.

* The words used by the Rev. Mr Vernon, who officiated on the occasion, were—"O Lord! may it please Thee to consecrate this ground, for the reception of the mortal remains of Napoleon Buonaparte." There was no bishop or archdeacon in the island to officiate in the consecration. This interesting fact I had from Mr Vernon himself, in a letter communicated to me by my esteemed friend Dr Shelton Mackenzie, well known to the public as the author of "Titian," and a very valuable statistical work, entitled, "*Partnership en commandite*."

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XCV.

1815.

¹ Chateaub.
Mem. vii.
171.

Sept. 1840.

French throne. A new world arose, in which the passion for novelty to which Napoleon had opposed the barrier of his genius, resumed its course. "He was the last of individual existences," says Chateaubriand : "henceforth everything became levelled and ordinary. Alone, the spectre of Napoleon stands on the verge of the world, that had been like the phantoms of the deluge on the borders of the abyss."¹ England shared in the renewed convulsions consequent on these momentous events : a great organic change in the constitution placed the popular party for a course of years in power ; a temporary alliance, founded on political passion, not national interest, for a time united its government with that of France ; and under the auspices of M. Thiers's administration, a request was made to the British to restore the remains of their great Emperor to the French people. This request, received in a worthy spirit by the English administration, was immediately complied with, in the hope, as it was eloquently though fallaciously said at the time, "that these two great nations would henceforth bury their discord in the tomb of Napoleon."* The solitary grave in St Helena was disturbed : the lonely willow no longer wept over the remains of the Emperor : the sepulchre was opened in presence of all the officers of the island, and many of his faithful followers : and the winding sheet, rolled back with pious care, revealed to the entranced spectators the well-known features of the immortal hero,

* " Le gouvernement de sa majesté espère que, l'empressement qu'il met à répondre à cette demande, sera considéré en France comme une preuve du désir de sa majesté d'effacer jusqu' à la dernière trace de ces animosités nationales, qui pendant la vie de l'Empereur avaient poussé les deux nations à la guerre. Le gouvernement de sa majesté espère que de pareils sentiments, s'ils existaient encore, seraient ensevelis à jamais dans le tombeau destiné à recevoir les restes mortels de Napoléon."—LORD PALMERSTON *au* COMTE GRANVILLE, 9th May 1840 ; CAPEFIGUE, *Histoire de Louis Philippe*, x. 175. These are the words of dignified generosity, worthy of the chivalrous days of a great nation : but how vain are the courtesies of statesmen to eradicate the seeds of rivalry implanted by circumstances or history in the breast of nations ! Within a few months after Napoleon was entombed in the Invalides, France and England were on the verge of a desperate war from the bombardment of Beyrout and Acre.

serene, almost undecayed, in his now canonised military dress, as when he stood on the fields of Austerlitz and Jena. The body was removed from its resting-place with the highest military honours : the British army and navy in the island, with generous sympathy, vied with each other in doing honour to their great antagonist ; and when it was lowered amidst the thunder of artillery into the French frigate, England felt that she had voluntarily, but in a right spirit, relinquished the proudest trophy of her national glory.

The remains of the Emperor were conveyed in safety to Europe on board the *Belle Poule* frigate, and landed with appropriate honours at *Hâvre de Grâce*. From thence they were removed to Paris, with a view to their being interred, with the other illustrious warriors of France, in the Church of the Invalides. The reinterment, which awakened the deepest interest in France and over Europe, took place on the 15th December 1840. The day was fine, though piercingly cold ; but such was the interest excited, that six hundred thousand persons were assembled to witness the ceremony. Many died of the severity of the weather while it continued. The procession approached Paris by the road from *St Cloud*, so often traversed by the Emperor in the days of his glory. The body was conveyed in a colossal hearse drawn by twelve horses : it passed through the now finished and stupendous arch erected to the Grand Army at the barrier of *Neuilly* ; and slowly moving through the *Champs Elysées*, reached the Invalides by the bridge of *la Concorde*. *Louis Philippe* and all his court officiated at the august ceremony, which was performed with extraordinary pomp in the splendid church of the edifice ; but nothing awakened such deep feeling as a band of the mutilated veterans of the Old Guard, who with mournful visages, but a yet military air, attended the remains of their beloved chief to his last resting-place. An aged charger, once ridden by the Emperor on his fields of fame, survived

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XCV.

1815.

105.

And their
final inter-
ment in the
Church of
the Inva-
lides.
Dec. 15,
1840.

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XCV.

1815.

to follow the gigantic hearse to the grave. The place of interment was worthy of the hero who was now placed beneath its roof: it contained the remains of Turenne and Vauban, and the paladins of France. Enchanting music thrilled every heart as the coffin was lowered into the tomb: the thunders of the artillery, so often vocal to his triumphs, now gave him the last honours of mortality: the genius of Marochetti was selected to erect a fitting monument to his memory; and the bones of Napoleon finally reposed on the banks of the Seine, amidst the "people whom he had loved so well." Yet will future ages perhaps regret the ocean-girt isle, the solitary stone, the willow-tree. No tomb at Paris can equal that in the Valley of Slanes: even the sepulchres of the dead are in danger in that land of change. A stone and a name alone befit his greatness. Napoleon will live when Paris is in ruins: his deeds will survive the dome of the Invalides:—no man can show the tomb of Alexander!

CHAPTER XCVI.

CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS.

“HISTORY,” says Bolingbroke, “is philosophy teaching by example.” Society, it is true, is ever changing ; the human race is continually advancing, and never recedes ; and it is rarely indeed that a combination of circumstances occurs again, precisely similar to any which had preceded it. But amidst the infinite diversity of human affairs, and the ceaseless progress of mankind, there are certain general principles of universal application, and the neglect or observance of which, in all ages, has been attended with the same consequences. It is in the discovery of those principles, hidden from the ordinary gaze amid the multiplicity of public events, that the great use of history consists ; it is in their general diffusion through all the thinking classes of the community, that the only sure foundation, either for social prosperity or national security, is to be found. “Man,” says Sir Walter Scott, “only differs from birds and beasts because he has the means of availing himself of the knowledge acquired by his predecessors. The swallow builds the same nest which its father and mother built : the sparrow does not improve by the experience of its parents. Our ancestors lodged in caves and wigwams, where we construct palaces for the rich, and comfortable dwellings for the poor. And why is this ? Because our eye is able to look back upon the past, to improve upon our ancestors’ improvements, to

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1815.

1.

Importance
of historical
review to
mankind.

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1815.

avoid their errors. This can only be done by studying history, and comparing it with passing events." The more widely that the people are admitted into a share of government, the more direct the influence which they exercise upon the decision of the legislature has become, the more indispensable is it that these principles should be generally inculcated and understood. For without wisdom in the direction of government, no security can exist either for national or individual welfare ; and without general information on historical subjects among the people, they will rarely, except under the pressure of immediate necessity, either submit to the sacrifices, or acquiesce in the course, which wisdom requires.¹

¹ Lockhart's
Life of
Scott, v.
147.

2.

Perpetual
alternation
of progress
and decline
of human
affairs.

"Whatever," says Dr Johnson, "makes the past, the distant, or the future predominate over the present, exalts us in the scale of thinking beings." The words are familiar to every one, till they have become trite ; but the thought is often far removed even from the most contemplative breasts. To rise superior to the pressure of existing events, to generalise at once from the past and the present, and to draw inferences in regard to the future, which shall be just even in the ever-changeful current of human affairs, is perhaps the highest effort of philosophical power. Yet it is not sufficient to do so, that the observer is imbued with the spirit of his own times, and is deeply impressed with the progress among mankind, and vast changes in society, that he sees around him. If he limits his observation to them alone, he will be led as widely astray as if he regarded only the past, and cast aside all observation of the present. At one period, and in some countries, mankind appear to make the most rapid progress, their numbers multiply with incredible rapidity, they expand in every direction, and come to exercise a great, sometimes a durable, influence on human affairs. At other times, nations become stationary, or even retrograde ; their energies seem exhausted ; their fire is burnt out ; the numbers of their inhabitants decline ; their

memorable actions are at an end ; and centuries elapse without their giving birth to one original thought, or achieving a single action worthy of being recorded in the annals of mankind.

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1815.

In the first period, the thoughtful observer is apt to be unduly influenced by the strength of the current in which he finds himself placed. He sees everything around him in rapid motion ; institutions changing, new powers rising into action, old influences sinking or forgotten. He not unnaturally imagines that this violent current is to continue for ever the same, when, in fact, the very rapidity of its motion is only accelerating the period when it is to be followed by a calm. In the latter situation, the observer is often led unduly to despair of the fortunes of his species. Indignant at the corruption or selfishness with which he is surrounded ; unable to arouse his countrymen to activity or public virtue ; desponding, from observing the community to which he belongs sinking in the scale of nations, or irrecoverably bent upon a ruinous course of policy, he becomes hopeless of the improvement of mankind, and vents his discontent in cutting satires on the prevailing vices, which he naturally considers as the melancholy termination of national greatness. He forgets that such a state of things is not eternal ; that a remedy, and an effectual remedy, is provided against its evils, in the rise of other states, the advent of fiercer passions, or the inroad of a braver people ; and that as certainly as the bursting vegetation of spring succeeds the torpid vitality of winter, so surely will the energy and powers of mankind come to revive the decaying spirit of nations.

3.
Errors to
which the
oblivion of
this gives
rise.

It is a common subject of complaint with the writers of the present age, which is in a peculiar manner a period of progress, that a portion of the community, considerable in number, and powerful from the possession of property, fix their eyes with undue partiality on the institutions of their ancestors ; that they are blind to the lights of the

4.
Error in
supposing
that any
one state
of things is
to continue
permanent.

CHAP.
XCVI.

1815.

age; solicitous to perpetuate the now worn-out and expiring system of society; and insensible to the continual and rapidly increasing influence of new elements and agents upon the fabric of society. There is, without doubt, often much foundation for this complaint; and many of the most calamitous convulsions which have agitated the world have arisen from blindness to this progress, and the attempt to perpetuate in one generation institutions which arose in, and were adapted to another. But the error is not the less manifest, though now it is the more general, of those who imagine that the progress of one period is to be continual; that human thought and human wishes are invariably to run in one channel; and that the ultimate destiny of society in the civilised world may with confidence be predicted from the tendency of its movement at a particular period, and in a particular nation.

5.
And that
the present
tendency to
democratic
institutions
is always to
continue.

The greateat political writers of the present age are not exempt from this delusion. When M. de Tocqueville asserts that the evident tendency of mankind, both in the old and new world, is everywhere to establish democratic ascendancy; that the current of popular ambition, and the increasing strength of popular power, is such as to be altogether irresistible; and that, for good or for evil, republican institutions are the evident destiny of mankind—he is disregarding the caution of the sage, and not permitting the past and the future to predominate over the present. He forgets what was the termination of Grecian democracy—what the end of the Roman republic; he overlooks the vast reaction which over great part of modern Europe succeeded the first burst of the Protestant Reformation, and not only arrested its progress, but caused it to recede; he shuts his eyes to the transports of joy which in England marked the restoration of the Stuarts, and the unanimous efforts of Europe in our own times to throw off the dreadful oppression of the French Revolution. The Eastern sage had a far

deeper insight into human affairs who desired the monarch to inscribe on his ring, as the moral alike for adverse and prosperous fortune, "And this too shall pass away."

So strongly has this perpetual recurrence of action and reaction impressed itself upon the most profound observers of mankind, that a few deep thinkers in every age have held that human affairs proceed not in a straight line, but in a circle; that, literally speaking, the aphorism is true, that there is nothing new under the sun; and that what is supposed to be the infusion of fresh elements into society, and the opening of a new age in the world, is in reality nothing more than the repetition to another state or generation of the same eternal round of valour, effort, greatness, discord, degeneracy, and decline, which from the earliest periods, like the seven ages of individual man, has marked the progress of nations from their nativity to their grave. It must be confessed that an attentive consideration of the course of human affairs, as they are exhibited, not in one country or one age, but on an extended survey of mankind at all times, affords, with reference to individual states, much reason for believing that this disheartening view is well founded.

But they are widely mistaken who anticipate from that circumstance a corresponding succession of progress and decline in the general fortunes of *mankind*. Nothing seems better established, from the most extensive survey of the history of the world, than the fact, that an unceasing progress may be observed throughout all its changes and vicissitudes; and although individual nations seem liable to the ordinary lot of mortality, yet the fortunes of the human race partake of the immortality of the works of nature; and that, amidst all the successive rise and fall of particular states, a vast system for the extension and improvement of the species is to be discerned. The beautiful image of genius seems more descriptive of the progress of man, which has compared it to an advancing tide, the waves of which indeed ebb and flow, but which

CHAP.
XCVI.

1815.

6.

Some have
thought
human
affairs move
in a circle.

7.

General
progress of
mankind,
notwith-
standing
these vicis-
situdes.

CHAP.
XCVI.

1815.

continually streams higher and higher upon the beach.* And if a fanciful analogy to physical motion, or mathematical figures, is to be admitted to illustrate such a progress, perhaps the nearest approximation which can be made to it is, to assimilate the advance of mankind to the movement ascribed by the Ptolemaic astronomers, anterior to the days of Copernicus, to the planetary bodies; and to hold, that while each state performs in due season its own separate revolution, yet the centre round which it revolves, sustained by the arm of Omnipotence, is continually advancing.

8.
Steady
growth of
improvement
through
all these
changes.

If we compare the extent of civilisation, the diffusion of knowledge, and the scene of human happiness in the first ages recorded in authentic history, in the days of Herodotus, with that which now obtains, when the light, then faintly glimmering along the shores of the Mediterranean, has spread over the whole world as far as the waters of the ocean extend; and the freedom for which the Grecian republics then heroically contended, has extended over great part of Europe, and into another hemisphere—ample ground for the most cheering anticipations, in regard to the future destiny of mankind, will be found to exist. The Greek, the Carthaginian, the Roman, the Persian empires have successively fallen; but the human race has survived all the catastrophes which for a time appeared to darken its prospects. The sacred fire transmitted in the human breast from one age or nation to another, has on every successive occasion gleamed forth with additional lustre, and now illuminates the whole world with its beams. Incessant has been the progress of the species through all the changes which it has undergone. The greatest and most overwhelming calamities in appearance have proved pregnant with future and lasting good. From the overthrow of the Roman empire by the barbarians, have sprung the institutions, the energy, the expansive power of modern

* MACAULAY.

Europe : from the subjugation of the civilised world by the arms of the Legions, has arisen the immortal code of laws which will for ever regulate the rights and restrain the injustice of men.

CHAP.
XCVI.

1815.

A nearer examination, however, of the progress of nations, and still more, perhaps, a practical acquaintance with mankind, under any circumstances or stage of advancement, will probably suggest an important modification of this law of social progress, and unfold the principal cause to which the continued failure of all attempts, by mere changes in the form of government, or social condition of the people, either to elevate their character, increase their happiness, or avert the numerous evils incident to their situation, is to be attributed. The treasures of knowledge, the powers of art, the triumphs of science, constitute a permanent addition to the inheritance of the species ; and the art of printing has apparently given them a durable existence, and for ever preserved for future generations the acquisitions of the past. But a very slight acquaintance with men is sufficient to show that it is neither in these acquisitions, nor the powers that they confer, that the secret either of national strength or individual elevation is to be found. Intellectual cultivation is unhappily proved, by all history, to be but too consistent with moral neglect ; the spread of knowledge with the effusion of corruption ; the triumphs of art with the degradation of the heart. Nay, so uniformly has this melancholy progress hitherto at least attended the greatest intellectual efforts of mankind, that, till within the last sixty years, it had long passed into a maxim with the wisest philosophers and the most experienced observers, that moral elevation and durable national greatness were *inconsistent* with great advancement in the arts and sciences ; and that, in the words of Bacon, “in the infancy of a state, arms do prevail ; in its maturity, arms and learning for a *short season* ; in its decline, commerce and the mechanical arts.”

9.
Failure of
all attempts
to introduce
any lasting
improve-
ment in
the condi-
tion of man-
kind by
forms of
govern-
ment.

CHAP.
XCVI.

1815.

10.

Expectations of the world at the breaking out of the French Revolution.

At the breaking out of the French Revolution, however, a new view began to prevail, and soon obtained general concurrence, among all men of a speculative or enthusiastic turn of mind. It was universally imagined by philosophers, that the extension of knowledge, the humanising of manners, and the diffusion of education, had provided an effectual antidote to this tendency to decay hitherto always observable in human affairs, and at the same time discovered a remedy for almost all the moral, and even the physical evils of humanity. The more that the writings of Voltaire, Rousseau, Raynal, and all that school of philosophers, are examined, the more clearly will it appear that this position formed the corner-stone of their whole system, and that it was to illustrate it that all their efforts were directed. Condorcet expressly states, in his *Life of Voltaire*, that that was the cardinal point of that great man's philosophy.* Nor are such doctrines confined to that age or to that country. The doctrines of human perfectibility—the principle that there is an indefinite progress in human affairs, not only in mechanical or scientific acquisition, but in moral elevation and social happiness—and that all the evils of the past have arisen from misgovernment or class ascendancy, are so agreeable to the human heart, so flattering to human vanity, and, withal, so nearly allied to the generous affections, that they will, in all probability, to the end of the world constitute the basis on which all the efforts of

* "Error and ignorance are the sole causes of the misfortunes of the human race; and superstitious errors are the most fatal, because they corrupt the sources of reason, and their fatal enthusiasm leads to the commission of crimes without remorse. The more men are enlightened, the freer will they be, and the less will it cost them to become so. What, in those circumstances, is the duty of a philosopher? To attack superstition; to demonstrate to governments, peace, riches, power, as the infallible reward of laws which secure religious freedom. He will enlighten them on all that they have to fear from the priests, whose secret influence will ever menace the repose of nations, if entire liberty of writing is not guaranteed; for, perhaps, before the discovery of printing, it was impossible to extricate mankind from a yoke as shameful as it is fatal; and as long as the sacerdotal power is not destroyed by reason, there is no medium between absolute debasement and dangerous disturbances."—*Vie de Voltaire*, par CONDORCET; *Œuvres de Voltaire*, i. 150.

the popular party will be rested, and all the visions of social amelioration justified. It is already the prevailing, in fact almost universal, creed in America, which hardly any writer, even of the highest class, in that land of freedom ventures to gainsay ; and it is a doctrine which will be found to lie at the root of the principles of all those numerous parties in Great Britain who aim at ameliorating the condition of mankind by merely altering their political institutions. It is of the highest importance, therefore, to inquire to what extent this principle is well founded ; to examine how far it is consistent with the experience of human nature ; and in what degree it is warranted by the past annals of mankind.

The French Revolution affords the most decisive demonstration which the history of the world has yet exhibited of the entire fallacy of this opinion. It was avowedly based by all its authors, both philosophical and political, upon the principle of perfectibility. This doctrine was repeated in all their writings and speeches, till it had passed into a sort of universal maxim ; it was the ground on which they at once rested their legislation, and justified their cruelties. “ You can never,” it was said, “ give the people too much power ; there is not the slightest danger of their abusing it. Tyranny in former ages has arisen entirely from the vices of kings, the ambition of ministers, and the arts of priests ; when the great and virtuous mass of the people are admitted into the direction of affairs, these evils will at once cease, because those will become the governors whose interest it is to be well governed. Gentleness, philanthropy, wisdom, may be expected universally to prevail, when the sovereignty is vested in those who are all equally to be blessed by the establishment of these virtues. Possibly much suffering may have been inflicted, some injustice may doubtless have been committed, on the part of the people, in the effort to secure for themselves these blessings ; but these evils are temporary, and not worthy to

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11.
Opinions
on which
that convul-
sion was
founded.

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be for a moment weighed against the permanent blessings of republican institutions." So far did this delusion as to the virtue of the people extend, that it reached even those most famed for their profound knowledge of human nature; and la Bruyère has recorded, in his admirable *Characters*, the marvellous opinion that "the people can do no wrong, while one of the great can scarce ever do anything right."*

12.
Universal
disappoint-
ment to
which it
led.

It is difficult to conceive what must have been the anguish of the persons, who, after promulgating and acting upon these principles, found themselves and their country involved in unheard-of miseries from their effects; when they saw the people whom they had represented as, and whom they believed to be, so innocent, instantly, on the acquisition of power, steeped in atrocities greater than had ever disgraced the government of kings or the councils of priests; and found that very middle class, whom they had always held out as the secure depositaries of public virtue, were themselves taking the lead in the commission of every species of atrocity. It is not surprising that anxiety to avoid witnessing such fruits from their efforts, should have led numbers even of the most enlightened to commit suicide; that Roland should have been found dead on the wayside, with a writing in his pocket, testifying that he "cared not to live in a world stained by so many crimes;" and that Condorcet, who had carried his dreams of human perfectibility so far as to have anticipated, from the combined discoveries of science, and calming of mankind by the spread of freedom, *an extension of human life* through indefinite ages, should have been

* "Un homme du peuple ne saurait faire aucun mal; un grand homme ne veut faire aucun bien, et est capable de grands maux. L'un ne se forme, ne s'exerce que dans les choses qui sont utiles; l'autre y joint les pernicieuses. Le peuple n'a guerre d'esprit, et les grands n'ont point d'âme."—LA BRUYÈRE, *Caractères*, § "Des Grands." When opinions such as these obtain with men who have the deepest insight into human nature, it is not surprising that a revolution ensues. Had la Bruyère lived a century later, he would have said with Alfieri, after witnessing the 10th August, — "Je connais bien les grands, mais je ne connais pas les petits."

led to shorten his own existence, by poison administered by his own hand.

The external conquests of the French during the Revolutionary wars, and the brilliant but devastating and disastrous career of Napoleon, were nothing but the application of these principles to the external concerns of the world. Of all the dangers to be anticipated from the establishment of popular power, probably that which was least anticipated was, that it would lead to a general passion for war and foreign conquest ; for these evils, so severely felt in every age, had for long, by the common consent of philosophers, been set down to the ambition of kings, the cruelty of priests, or the rivalry of ministers. Yet was this effect immediately found to follow from it, and that too with such fury and violence, that for twenty years it deluged Europe with blood, brought foreign armies to every capital on the Continent, caused the destruction of several millions of the human race, and all but prostrated the whole military powers of the Continent before the Imperial bayonets. To any one, however, who considers the principles of human nature, the immediate effects of a revolution, and the passions which it awakens among the people, it must at once appear that such a result was not only probable, but unavoidable.

The dreams of philosophers and the visions of philanthropists anticipated, from the establishment of government upon a highly democratic basis, the immediate and entire cessation of wars and tumults, and the advent of a general period of philanthropy, benevolence, and mutual charity among mankind. This was expected, because government was now placed in the hands of those whose interest it was supposed to be to remain at rest. But what was the effect which actually occurred ? Precisely that which any man practically acquainted with human nature would have anticipated, which the experience of every age, where similar circumstances had occurred, had demon-

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13.
Entire disappointment of these expectations in the foreign wars of the Revolution.

14.

Causes of this disappointment.

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strated, and which a few of the profoundest thinkers had foretold—viz., that the working classes were immediately thrown out of employment by the cessation of trade and the universal terrors of the capitalists and wealthy classes; that the expectations of the middle ranks became unbounded; that the wicked passions of the human heart immediately burst into overwhelming activity; and that a universal stoppage of employment, and starvation among the poor, were found to coincide with the anticipated social resurrection of the state. At the same time, government, from the failure of the revenue, became insolvent; all the methods that were tried for restoring the finances, by confiscation of the property of the church, seizure of the estates of the emigrants, appropriation of the revenue of corporations and hospitals, and issue of assignats, proved illusory, and in their ultimate effects became the greatest aggravation, instead of any alleviation, to the public distress, by the overwhelming ruin which they brought upon private families, and the total destruction of capital and credit which they occasioned. Thus the Republican French were driven to the career of foreign conquest alike by financial necessity, democratic ambition, and popular misery; and in its excitements and glories they found a transient compensation for their sufferings, until the oppression and wretchedness which it had brought on other nations, roused a unanimous feeling of resistance throughout Europe, and brought on their dreadful overthrow.

15.
Their failure
during the
Restoration.

After the fall of Napoleon, it was confidently hoped by the friends of popular institutions that, notwithstanding all her crimes and all her sufferings, France at length was about to receive a reward for the strenuous efforts she had made in the cause of freedom; and that, under the sway of a constitutional monarch, the glorious fabric of civil liberty would be permanently established in that great country. If the material prosperity of the government of the Restoration is alone considered, there appeared

good reason for supposing that this expectation was about to be realised. During the fifteen years of its weak but gentle government, peace was preserved ; the carnage of Napoleon was in great part repaired by the vivifying powers of population ; industry and wealth increased to an incredible degree ; the freedom of the press, and the guarantees of constitutional liberty, were established to an extent altogether unknown in Continental Europe ; and the general wellbeing of the people indicated the existence of a salutary administration of public affairs. But all this was as nothing to the Revolutionists, "as long as Mordecai the Jew sat at the king's gate." The government of the Restoration was obnoxious ; for it reminded the French, how innocently soever on the part of the royal family, of the days of their humiliation. The passions of the Revolution, long pent up, came at last to require a vent ; the restraints of morality, law, and order were felt as insupportable, by a people accustomed to the license of irreligion, the spoliations of anarchy, and the splendours of military conquest ; and the imbecile hands of a race of pacific monarchs proved unequal to the task of restraining the fiery coursers of a revolution.

Thus the dynasty of the Restoration fell, and with it all the hopes of governing France by the powers of a constitutional monarchy, and the influences of religion, morality, and public spirit. In the vigorous hands of Louis Philippe, a very different government was established, but one far more suitable to the spirit of the nation. The forms of a constitutional monarchy were retained, its language sedulously observed, but its spirit annihilated. No man understood better, or has more successfully practised, the maxim of Augustus, that mankind are in general governed by words, not things ; and that, provided only they are addressed in the language of freedom, they will submit to the reality of despotism. The army was immensely augmented ; the public expenditure increased a half ; the ordonnances which had

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16.
Re-estab-
lishment of
military
government
by Louis
Philippe.

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occasioned the fall of Charles X. re-enacted with additional severity ; formidable fortifications erected around Paris ; a collar of steel put round the neck of the rebellious city ; an army of sixty thousand men quartered in its neighbourhood, and the strength of military government established.

17.
And in the
revolutions
of the south
of Europe
and Ame-
rica.

Still the advocates of democratic equality, and the believers in human perfectibility, were not discouraged. They looked for a realisation of their dreams in the efforts of the Carbonari of Naples, of the patriots of Piedmont, and of the ultra-liberals of Spain and the republics of America. Disheartening have been the results of all these expectations. In the two first countries, the efforts of the republicans were overthrown with hardly any resistance ; in the third, the attempts of the Revolutionists, after occasioning a dreadful civil war, which for eight years bathed the Peninsula in blood, have terminated in the prostration of the crown, the ruin of the country, the destruction of freedom, and the establishment of a military despotism, rivalling in severity, as the previous efforts of its supporters had equalled in atrocity, that which formed the termination and punishment of the French Revolution. And in South America so disastrous have been the results of revolution, that anarchy has continued unabated for above thirty years. Population has receded, and in many places sunk to one-half of what it was when the convulsion began. Industry has been blighted by the continual confiscation of its fruits ; public morality destroyed by the successive ascendant of the wicked. Commerce has been ruined even in that garden of nature ; and men have fallen under a succession of tyrants so numerous, that history has ceased to attempt to record their names.

Even then, the sanguine hopes of the believers in the innocence of mankind and the doctrine of human perfectibility were not altogether cast down. "These calamitous results," it was said, "were the consequences only of

the corruptive oppressions and vices of the Old World : the reaction against ages of former misrule has been so violent as to have defeated its object ; and thence the general failure of all attempts to establish liberty and equality in the Old World. But in the New, a very different result may be anticipated. There the human race have begun their career unmanacled by the fetters of former despotism ; no pre-existing evils exist to avenge ; no unjust distribution of property to impede ; the career of freedom will be unstained by blood ; and amidst the untrodden riches and unbounded capabilities of its forests, the glorious fabric of liberty will be founded on the basis of universal education and equality." Such were the hopes and anticipations with which the North American States commenced their career. How have these expectations been realised ? Why, in no other way than that, amidst all the unbounded room for expansion which mankind there enjoys, the innate propensities of the human heart have been not less conspicuous than on the old theatre of European contention ; that even the boundless riches of the Far West have not been able to furnish an adequate vent for the selfish and angry passions ; that all attempts to ameliorate the condition of their millions of slaves have been strenuously resisted in one part of the country ; while in another, the most violent attacks have been made upon the national establishments, on which the credit, and even the existence, of the mercantile classes were dependent ; that bankruptcy and ruin, to an unheard-of extent, have prostrated commercial wealth, and popular injustice has already proclaimed in many states the abolition of the national debt ; that independence of thought and dignity of character have been crushed by the overwhelming power of numbers, and that deeds of violence have been perpetrated in many parts of the United States by the tyrant majority, with entire impunity, of so frightful a character, that they exceed in cruelty all the savage atrocity of the French

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18.

Expectation
from Ame-
rican equa-
lity, and
entire dis-
appoint-
ment in
which it has
terminated.

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Revolution, and have made the Americans fain to seek a parallel for them in the hideous persecutions and bloody iniquities which have for ever disgraced the Roman Catholic religion.

19.
Failure of
their hopes
in the Bri-
tish islands.

Great hopes were at one time entertained in the British islands, that the vast organic change which convulsed the country in 1832, would terminate in such an improved frame of government as would, in this asylum of constitutional freedom, at last realise the hopes of so many of the ardent friends of humanity. Hitherto, however, the result has certainly not been such, as to justify the opinion that this country is destined to form any exception to the inferences deducible from so many previous examples of anticipated success and realised failure. It will be the province of some future historian, to point out with pride the superior moderation and order which have distinguished the English revolution from the more sanguinary convulsions by which it has been surrounded, and the greater ease with which its inhabitants have fallen back, after the contest was over, into habits of peace, and the established channels of constitutional warfare. Yet must he at the same time record, that symptoms of no unequivocal kind have appeared, of as dangerous a spirit in the lower classes of the English people, as in the most violently excited portions of the French population; that the flames of Bristol, of Nottingham, and of Birmingham have demonstrated, that the torch can be wielded by as infuriated hands in Great Britain as either in France or America; that the dreams of the Socialists, and the projects of the Chartists, tend to a demoralisation of society as thorough, and spoliation of property as complete, as were contemplated by the followers of Babeuf, or the partisans of Chaumette; that the complaint of the working classes now is, that none of their grievances have been removed by the infusion of more popular power into the legislature, while the relief of the destitute has, by democratic selfishness, been

grievously abridged ; that the comparatively bloodless termination of the strife in Great Britain, on the whole, is to be ascribed rather to the patriotic conduct and bold front of the holders of property, than to the greater gentleness or sense of justice in its enemies. Even in calmer times, the result of the revolution has been to produce a change in the rulers, rather than satisfy the wants or remove the evils of the ruled. It has turned mainly to the advantage of capital, and against that of industry ; moneyed has come to supersede landed influence, and the interests of the working classes have never suffered so severely as from the measures pursued by the rulers whom the suffrages of the new electors have installed in power.

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The revolutionary spirit, however, was suppressed only for a time, not extinguished by these repeated failures. Secretly and unheeded it went on accumulating in the middle and lower classes of society, until, in a moment of general debility in the governments of Continental Europe, it gained a temporary ascendancy. Many causes had prepared the way for its triumph. The disastrous result of the Revolution of 1793 upon the condition of the working classes over all France had spread a feverish passion for change among them : they desired anything rather than to bear longer the consequences of their sins. Literature had lent its powerful aid to fan the general flame ; Socialist and Communist doctrines had found abettors even in men of the highest intellect ; and the heroes of the first great convulsion had been represented by genius in the most romantic and interesting colours.* Imbecility, timidity, and vacillation prevailed equally on the throne, amidst the princes of the blood, and in the cabinets : vigour and resolution continued only in the popular rulers. The consequence was, that by a well-concerted urban tumult, the throne of Louis Philippe was

20.
The French
Revolution
of 1848.

* LAMARTINE'S *History of the Girondists*.

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21.

Its results
in France
and Europe.

overturned, and from its effects those of Austria, Prussia, and Naples were soon prostrated in the dust.

What have been the effects of this great triumph of the revolutionary principle in the principal states of Continental Europe? Have they been anything else but universal war, misery, and devastation—a war of races superadded to that of opinion—a general and fearful increase of public burdens—a universal substitution of the rule of the sword for that of the law? The Lombard rose up against the German, the Bohemian against the Austrian, the Magyar against both. The revolutionists of Prussia attacked Denmark; those of Piedmont, Austria; those of Ireland, England. Nothing but the firmness of Lamartine, and the memory of the double capture of Paris, prevented France from crossing the Rhine to join as a leader in the general conflict of nations. And what has resulted from this general triumph of democracy and universal stirring-up of the social passions? Consequences only the most disastrous to the interests of real freedom and the ultimate happiness of mankind. Austria, wellnigh torn to pieces in the struggle, has been saved only by the interposition of Russia; a hundred thousand Muscovites have combated in Hungary, and found there the road to Constantinople. The incapacity of Italy for free institutions has been rendered evident to all the world. Misery unheard of has been spread in Ireland; France, oppressed by indigence, overwhelmed by financial embarrassment, has escaped from fearful civil dissension only by taking refuge under the government of the sword; and Germany, alike virgin to revolutionary passions, and unused to revolutionary suffering, has had a firebrand tossed into its bosom, which the labours of a century will not extinguish.

Consequences so uniform, and yet so unexpected by the advocates of human perfectibility, evidently point to the operations of some great law of nature against which all these efforts for social amelioration have been so

signally shattered, and which in every age has led to the speedy discomfiture of every project formed for the improvement of human institutions based on democratic principles. It is not difficult to see what it is that has occasioned all these results, and so often blasted the hopes of so many of the warmest friends of humanity. It is no new or unknown principle that has had this effect. It is one which was announced in the earliest records of humanity, and stands proclaimed in every subsequent page of history ; but it is a doctrine which the self-love of mankind will, to the end of the world, always render the last to be generally received. It is the principle of HUMAN CORRUPTION. In referring to this principle, it is not meant to assert, as has been sometimes erroneously imagined by divines, that any inherent taint has descended to the human race, from the fall of our first parents, like a hereditary physical disease, *independent of their own actings* as free agents. For such a position, no authority can be found in any passage of Scripture when properly considered ; nor is any countenance given to it, either by our innate sense of justice, or our observation of the Divine administration. What is meant is a different position, equally consonant to the Divine justice and to the experience of mankind—viz. : that every individual is *born innocent, so far as action is concerned*, but deeply steeped in evil, *if inclination is considered* ; that this disposition is so strong, that in no instance whatever is its effect altogether avoided ; and that, without the most sedulous care and incessant efforts, aided by all the influences of religion, every person will inevitably be led, under the guidance of his passions, into criminal actions.

Whether such a doctrine is consistent with human nature, may be left to the innate consciousness of every human breast. Let him that feels himself innocent throw the first stone. Whether it is consistent with the experience of mankind in private life, may be determined

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22.

This all
flows from
the general
corruption
of mankind.
What it
means.

23.

Cause of the
general re-
pugnance to
this doc-
trine.

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by every one from the conduct of the persons with whom he is acquainted ; and the more extensive and practical that acquaintance is, the more strong will be his convictions on the subject. In social affairs, and the contests of nations, its truth is loudly proclaimed in every page of history, from the origin of the human race to the present hour. Nevertheless, it is probably the last doctrine that ever will be embraced by the great body of mankind ; and the insensibility to it, or determination to resist it, is the real cause of the whole innumerable disasters, which in every age have made democratic ascendancy terminate in misery, bloodshed, and ruin. Superficial observers will ask, what has social amelioration or political discussion to do with theological disputes, or questions of original sin. They might as well ask what has population to do with the passion of sex, or warlike triumphs with military courage.

24.
Effects of
the rejection
of it.

Concede to the popular party and the advocates of human perfectibility the principles with which they uniformly set out, and which they hold out as axioms which lie at the foundation of all political philosophy, and it is utterly impossible to resist the conclusions for republican institutions and self-government for which they contend. Admit with them that the human mind is naturally inclined to gentleness, benevolence, and philanthropy ; that the savage or the hunter is a model of every virtue ; that angry passions are instilled into the breast of man in subsequent times by the tyranny of kings, the delusions of priests, and the oppression of wealth ;* concede the dogma that the light of knowledge and the progress of education are fitted to extirpate all the cruel and savage propensities of mankind, and prepare the world for the general reign of innocence and peace ; admit that the many, if permitted to govern, will

* “ Robespierre posait pour premier principe, que le peuple est toujours bon, et le magistrat toujours corruptible.” — BUONAROTTI, *Conspiration de Babeuf*, i. 247.

avoid the passions, iniquities, and cupidity of the few ; and the argument for self-government becomes irresistible.

Ut cives feliciter vivant, is unquestionably the object both of legislation and political philosophy ; and if it be once discovered that the principles of the majority of mankind will always be inclined to the side of moderation, virtue, and wisdom, it is impossible too soon to commence by universal democratic institutions the advent of the second age of gold.

Concede, on the other hand, to the Christian philosopher, or the experienced observer of mankind, the conclusions at which they both arrive ; admit with them that the human heart contains the spring at once of good and of bad actions ; that the former, though often predominant in the end, by the influence of religion, effort, and cultivation, are uniformly weaker in the outset than the latter ; admit, what few experienced in the ways of man will be inclined to deny, that the "heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked ;" admit with them that the temptations to sin are powerful, immediate, and such as instantly strike and captivate the senses, while the inducements to virtue are remote, slow of growth, and difficult of execution ; admit that *immediate* gratification and pleasure are the rewards held out by the former, and labour, effort, and self-denial the sacrifices required in the commencement by the latter ; admit further, that these opposite sets of motives to action are placed before beings universally desirous of immediate enjoyment, and in comparatively few instances accessible to the influence of remote or distant considerations ; admit these things, and it will at once appear that the idea of self-government is an entire delusion ; that the great body of mankind, if left to themselves, will plunge headlong into the career which promises immediate gratification to their interests or their passions, without any regard to ultimate consequences, whether in this world or the next ; and that violence, injustice, and

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25.
Opposite
effects of
the Chris-
tian doc-
trine of
general
corruption.

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ultimate bloodshed, must inevitably result from opening the floodgates which admit the unrestrained passions of the human heart to bear upon the direction of public affairs.

26.
View of the
popular
party on
the intellec-
tual charac-
ter of man.

Discrepancies, not less irreconcilable, separate the two parties which now divide mankind, in regard to the *intellectual powers* of the majority of men in all ages. The advocates of human perfectibility admit, that in times past the majority of men in most countries have been unfit to be intrusted with the work of legislation, and that they have been, in a great measure, of necessity subjected to the government of a few. But this, they allege, was owing entirely to the want of education and intellectual cultivation, which compelled men to arrive at freedom only through bloodshed and anarchy. A totally different result may be anticipated from the diffusion of knowledge, the spread of education, and the habit of political discussion; and great as have been the dangers of suddenly admitting benighted man into the exercise of political rights, they would all vanish like the shades of night before the rising sun of knowledge. Self-government, in their opinion, is easily acquired by tuition; the interest of the many is to be well ruled, and the spread of information will speedily show men both what measures are likely to be conducive to that end, and what men are fitted to carry them into execution. Above all, a cessation of war and all its horrors may be anticipated from popular ascendancy, and the establishment of a pacific intercourse among nations consistent with the enjoyment of civil rights by their inhabitants.

27.
Opposite
conclusion
of expe-
rience on
this sub-
ject.

The more experienced observers of human affairs reason after a different manner. They maintain that the great distinction between the mass of mankind and the small body of thinking men to be found among them, consists in the different degrees by which they are influenced by *distant* events; that in all assemblies of men, of whatever rank, if at all numerous, there is nothing so difficult

as to induce the majority to take into view *remote* consequences ; that present relief, present gratification, or present advantage, constitute the motives which universally sway the great majority ; and that these dispositions are even more conspicuous among the middle and working classes of society, than in those possessed of property, holding a durable stake in the community, and having had the advantage of a moral and refined education. If this position be conceded, it at once strikes at the root of the possibility of successfully intrusting the management of public affairs to a mere majority of men, independent of the qualifications of property and education ; since the first requisite of government is to foresee and guard against dangers which are not visible to, or are disregarded by the majority of men ; and the very derivation of the epithet applied to the Supreme Being—*Providence*—implies that the quality of foresight is the one which forms the leading characteristic of government in the Almighty Ruler of the universe.

These two subjects of the general corrupt tendencies of the human heart, and of the universal want of foresight among the majority of men, constitute the fundamental points of difference between the two parties which now divide the world ; and neither will ever be able to maintain a successful combat against the other, either by reason or force of arms, but by constantly basing their arguments upon one or other of these grounds. Sanguine visions of the future, exalted conceptions of the capacity and virtue of human nature, warm anticipations of the ultimate destinies of the species, always have and always will constitute the strength of the popular party. They will, in every age, not fail to enlist on their side not only the selfish and the vicious, who aim at the destruction of every restraint on their desires, human and divine, but also a considerable and sometimes an overwhelming portion of the philanthropic, the enthusiastic, and the benevolent in all classes. A constant recurrence, on the other

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28.

These opposite views
will for ever
divide mankind.

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hand, to human iniquity, a loud denunciation of the extent to which it pervades *all ranks and all classes*, a sedulous inculcating of the principle, that virtue can be attained only by exertion and religious influence, and that the direction of affairs can be intrusted only to those whose habits of foresight, moral and mental qualifications, entitle them to assume the lead, must be the basis on which the principles of the opposite party must be rested. As oblivion of the past, and anticipation only of the future, constitute the strength of the one party, so actual experience and historical authority furnish the strength of the other. Hence the one alleges that history is an old almanac ; the other, that it is the great basis on which all political knowledge must be reared. But the latter principles will never be placed on a proper foundation, nor will those who hold them ever assume a position from which they cannot by possibility be forced, until they fairly take their stand on this ground, and boldly front all the obloquy to which it will expose them. If they do so, their principles, however disagreeable to human vanity, can never be overthrown ; for experience will, to the end of time, demonstrate their universal application, and the very men who are most loud in declaiming against their falsehood, will in general, by their conduct, afford the most signal proof of their truth.

29.

Demonstration by experience of the warlike tendency of republics.

If any doubt could exist as to the warlike tendency of popular institutions, it would be removed by the immediate and disastrous result upon the tranquillity of Europe of the French Revolution of 1848. Since Wellington sheathed his victorious sword at Paris in 1815, general peace had prevailed in Europe, interrupted only for a short period by the Polish Revolt, consequent on the triumph of the Barricades in 1830. But no sooner had the government of Louis Philippe been overthrown, than the revolutionary party in every country, now uncontrolled, broke out into every species of excess, and war, in its most hideous form, arose on all sides. Charles

Albert perfidiously attacked Austria with the forces of revolutionised Italy in Lombardy : democratic Prussia sought to wrest Holstein from the Danes : Poland was only restrained by the presence of two hundred thousand Russians : Hungary became the theatre of a frightful struggle, terminated at last by a Muscovite intervention, second only to the partition of the Austrian empire in the danger of its consequences.

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These considerations explain a fact which would otherwise be wholly inexplicable ; but the illustrations of which may nevertheless be observed in every page of history, viz.—that the popular and democratic party, so far from resting on the principles of the Christian religion, in general evince the most deadly hostility to its tenets, and that its principles form the corner-stone of the opposite body, who endeavour to maintain the ascendancy of property and education. During the first fervour of the Reformation, indeed, the stubborn supporters of religious freedom formed a temporary alliance with political enthusiasts, and the Puritans of Cromwell stood side by side with the republicans and Fifth-Monarchy men. But that was a temporary union, arising from mutual necessity, which did not long survive the circumstances that gave it birth. Religious freedom, in truth, was the object for which the Protestants fought in the sixteenth century ; civil liberty was regarded only so far as it might prove conducive to spiritual independence. It was in the eighteenth century that the real democratic spirit was first fully developed, and then it was at once rested on the dogma of human perfectibility. Its advocates loudly proclaimed the native innocence of man, and inculcated a total emancipation from all the restraints of religion ; and before the close of the contest, the contending parties had universally hoisted their true colours. Liberty, philosophy, indulgence, were inscribed on the banners of the one side ; religion, self-denial, duty, on those of the other.

30.
This explains how Christianity is so obnoxious to democracy.

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31.

Apparent
consistency
of Christian
with popu-
lar princi-
ples.

If we consider, however, the principles of the Christian religion, such a result must appear at first sight not a little surprising. More than any religion that ever existed, the precepts of the gospel provide for the humble, and enjoin duties on the great among mankind. Alone of all other faiths, it from the outset proclaims the universal equality of mankind in the sight of heaven ; it preaches in an especial manner the gospel to the poor ; it denounces greater risks of ultimate punishment to the rich than to the indigent ; and incessantly inculcates the duty of charity to the unfortunate as the first of Christian graces. There was some truth, though much blasphemy, in the saying of the followers of Babœuf, that Jesus Christ was the first *sansculotte*. How, then, has it happened that a faith of this description, inculcating doctrines so eminently favourable to the poorer ranks, and so subversive of all distinction in the different classes of men, at least in moral responsibility, has not been universally seized upon as the very corner-stone of the popular party throughout the globe ?

32.

Causes of
the hostility
of demo-
cracy to it.

Simply because it at the same time inculcates the doctrine of human corruption ; because, if it announces the universal equality of men in the sight of heaven, it as loudly proclaims their universal tendency to guilty indulgence ; because it gives no countenance to the idea, that alterations in social institutions, how important soever in themselves, or the elevation of a new class to the duties of government, will be of the least effect in remedying human evils, unless accompanied or preceded by a corresponding change in the active dispositions of men ; and constantly impresses the eternal truth, that the only reform which is likely to be of the least efficacy, is the reform of the human heart. Sedulously avoiding the mention of external things, hardly ever alluding to the forms either of civil or ecclesiastical government, except to inculcate obedience to existing authority, it as uniformly proclaims the equal responsibility of the gover-

nors and the governed ; and imposes upon both, under equal sanctions, the duty of integrity in conduct and charity in feeling. It loudly proclaims the iniquity of the world and the miseries of mankind : it tells us that a remedy exists for these multifarious evils ; but it tells us, at the same time, that that remedy does not consist in substituting the government of the many for the government of the few, but in the adoption by all, whether in or out of authority, of the golden rule, to do to others as they would be done by. Thence it is that the religion of the gospel is so generally obnoxious to the democratic party all the world over ; for it at once strikes at the root of their dreams of human perfectibility, and announces, as the only remedy for existing evils, the extirpation of existing and wide-spread wickedness. It prescribes a contest to the many as well as to the few ; but it is not a contest with temporal power, but with spiritual temptation—its theatre is not the arena of politics, but the recesses of the breasts of its sanguine votaries. And yet few experienced observers, either of the stream of human events, or of mankind as they exist around them, will probably doubt that it is in that quarter only that a really efficacious reform can be adopted ; and that if the one thing needful is there generally done, it is of comparatively little importance what is effected elsewhere.

Instead, therefore, of arriving at the conclusion, that alterations in the form of government should be the great object of patriotic effort, and that important social benefits may be effected by such changes, unattended with moral improvement, the precepts of religion, equally with the results of experience, point to the conclusion, that the only secure foundation that can be laid for general amelioration is in private rectitude ; that the heart is, literally speaking, the fountain from which the issues both of individual and social improvement must flow ; and that unless moral and religious cultivation have preceded the

33.
General
result as to
the corrup-
tion of all
classes.

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acquisition of political power, and been widely and successfully diffused, it will speedily be converted into an engine merely for indulging all the worst passions of the human breast. And this explains how it happens that, in some simple and remote countries, such as the Swiss cantons, even a pure democracy has been found to exist for centuries without inducing any public calamities ; while in others, more advanced in civilisation, no sooner have political privileges been given to the people, than they instantly applied them to the worst purposes, fell under the dominion of the most selfish characters in the community, and, like victorious soldiers after the storm of a town, broke out into the most unbridled excesses of rapine, lust, and social conflagration. It is the want of moral restraint which lets in all this flood of evils, and by removing all other coercion renders inevitable the rule of force. Generally speaking, the danger of their overwhelming society upon the acquisition of power by the people, is just in proportion to the absence of religious influence, the age, and corrupted state of the community. "The necessity for external government to man," says Coleridge, "is in an inverse ratio to the vigour of his self-government. Where the last is most complete, the first is least wanted. Hence the more virtue the more liberty."¹

¹ Table
Talk, ii.
193.

34.
The individuals in
all ranks
are equally
inclined to
evil.

This inherent corruption, let it be remembered, is *universal*. It cannot be said that any class of society is exempt from this inherent weakness ; or that in any hands, whether few or many, the possession of power is not likely to lead to its abuse. All have equal need of the internal restraint of moral principle ; and all, to improve that principle, require external coercion. Whoever asserts that the absolute government of kings is the best form of civil society, and that they may be safely intrusted with the uncontrolled direction of human affairs, is a mere flatterer of courts, and his opinion is belied by every page of history. Whoever asserts that an oligarchy

or an aristocracy stands in need of no restraint, because their interests are identified with those of the people on their estates, and because the greatest efforts of nations have been achieved by their means, is not less insensible to the evidence of facts, or less apt, if his opinions are implicitly followed, to mislead and degrade mankind. Whoever asserts that the great body of the people are capable of the arduous duty of self-government, that democratic institutions are the only true foundation for good administration, and that abuse of power need never be apprehended in their hands, because they are at once beyond its seductions, and exposed to its evils, is not less a sycophant of power than the eulogist of courts or the minion of aristocracy ; and his flatteries are only the more dangerous that they are addressed to a larger, a more impassioned, and a less enlightened circle than is to be found either in the halls of princes or the precincts of nobles.

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How, then, has it happened, if all mankind are thus equally corrupt, and disposed to farm out political power for no other purpose but self-aggrandisement, that so marked a distinction is to be observed in the effect of forms of government upon human society ; and whence the astonishing variety in the progress and elevation of mankind at different periods of the world, and under the influence of different forms of government ? The question is a natural one, and, if the foregoing principles are well founded, it should meet with a solution in consistency with them. And a very slight consideration must be sufficient to explain, not only how this great diversity has happened, but to point in the most decisive manner to the form of government which promises the greatest social happiness and public elevation.

35.
Whence the
difference
in the effect
of civil go-
vernment
on mankind.

Since the creation of man, a vast majority, probably nine-tenths, of the human race, have existed under the government of single monarchs or chiefs, exercising nearly absolute power within their separate principalities. Not

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36.

Monarchi-
cal govern-
ment: its
advantages
and evils.

to mention other examples that must be familiar to every reader, the whole of Asia, embracing six hundred millions of inhabitants, or nearly two-thirds of the whole human race, has, from the earliest period to the present hour, been uniformly governed by the absolute power of a single individual. Certain restraints upon the uncontrolled exercise of human power have no doubt existed in the East as well as in other parts of the world; but they consist, not in any limitation of power in the sultaun or chief, but in his occasional dethronement; the remedy against the evils of oppression is not the limitation of authority, but the murder of the despot. Great as have been the evils which in every age have flowed from the selfishness, the rapacity, and the iniquities of these arbitrary governors of their species, it is yet evident that there must be some general and substantial benefits which have resulted from their rule, or it would long ago have been terminated by the common consent of mankind. Lightly as European independence may think of Asiatic despotism, philosophy will not despise a system of government under which two-thirds of the human race have subsisted from the beginning of time; and which is so firmly rooted in universal consent in that part of the world, that no amount of tyranny on the part of individual sovereigns, and no changes resulting from religion or conquest, have ever made them for one moment think of altering it. Whatever is found to have existed to a great extent among mankind for a very long period, must necessarily have been attended with great practical advantages which have overbalanced its evils. The sagacious observer of such institutions, if he cannot discover their utility, will rather suspect that his powers of observation have been defective, than that mankind for so long a period, and over so great a surface, have obstinately persisted in what was destructive to themselves. But it is evident what has occasioned this uniformity of government in the East; the advantages of despotism are as clearly marked as its

evils. They consist in the rude but effective coercion of human passion by the vigorous hand of single administration; the substitution, it may be, of the oppression of one, for what certainly would be the licentiousness of all.

Aristocratic societies are those which in every age have made the most durable impression on human affairs; and where patrician rule has been combined with a certain development of democratic energy in society, they have led to the greatest and the most splendid of human achievements. The empires of Carthage and Rome in ancient, and of Great Britain in modern times, are sufficient to demonstrate, that under no other form of government is it possible to combine such great and heroic achievements with such steady and durable progress. Its evils, as those of all earthly things, are many, and they consist chiefly in the uniform tendency of all holders of aristocratic power to consider it as a patrimony for themselves and their dependants—instead of a trust to be exercised for the public good, and the consequent restriction of office and power to a limited circle of society. But amidst many and evident evils, these examples decisively demonstrate that such a form of government is at least a move in the right direction. No community need be afraid of going far astray which treads in the footsteps of Rome and England. The secret of the prodigious ascendancy that this form of government has given to the nations which have embraced it, consists in the combination of fixity of purpose, arising from the durability of interest on the part of the holders of property, who constitute the ruling power, with courage and energy in the lower classes, springing from the facilities given them of rising in society. It is the power of steam restrained from its frightful devastation, and subjected to the guidance of firm and experienced hands.

Democratic government has produced, at different times, effects so opposite and contradictory, that it is not surprising that the opinions of men should be divided as

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37.
Aristocratic
govern-
ment: its
evils and
advantages.

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38.

Great
powers of
democracy
as a spring.

far as the poles are asunder, in regard to its merits. Examined in one view, it exhibits the examples of the brightest eras on which the eye of the historian can rest. The arts of Greece, the arms of Rome, the navy of England, the peopling of America, have arisen from its exertions. All the greatest achievements of the human mind have been effected under the influence of its fervour. Whatever may have been the suffering and agony with which the convulsions it produced have been accompanied, they have led to the most splendid exertions of human genius, and the widest spread of the human race. No one can contemplate the shores of the Mediterranean, studded with the successive colonies of Greece, Carthage, and Rome, or the shores of the ocean now beginning to glitter with those of England, without seeing that to this social agent of transcendant power it is given to effect the greatest and most momentous changes in the destiny of man. The Roman empire itself was built up of the colonial settlements formed by its democratic citizens, or those of the Grecian republics, on the adjoining coasts of Europe and Asia. Its conquests were but the bursting of the bands of armed and disciplined democracy into the savage tribes or enfeebled monarchies by which it was surrounded. If the French Revolution was to that great country a source of lasting evil, it gave it also a brief period of surpassing glory; and if we would seek the latent spring which, at an interval of two hundred years, has implanted the British race in the western and southern hemisphere, we shall find it in the efforts of the sturdy Puritans in the days of Charles I., and the visions of social regeneration in those of William IV. and Queen Victoria.

39.

Its evils.

If we examine democracy in another view, it appears the most biting scourge that the justice of heaven ever let loose upon guilty man. At no other periods than when it was in the ascendant, and by no other agents than its conquests or oppression, has such intense suffer-

ing been inflicted on the human race. To the surrounding nations, Rome appeared a vast fountain of evil, always streaming over, yet always full, from which devastating floods incessantly issued to overwhelm and destroy mankind. We may judge how far and wide it laid waste the neighbouring states, from the nervous expression which Tacitus put into the mouth of the Caledonian chief, "*ubi solitudinem fecerunt, pacem appellant.*" And if any doubt could exist as to the fearful nature of the evils which republican ambition brings upon mankind, they would be established by the fact, that in twenty years it occasioned a slaughter of not less than ten millions of human beings on the two sides during the French Revolutionary war; and that such was the acute suffering which was produced throughout Europe by its triumph, that it overcame all the jealousy of nations and all the rivalry of cabinets, and induced a universal combination of mankind to effect its overthrow.

One of the most favourite doctrines which overspread the world, from the principles of the French Revolution, was the opinion, so readily formed, so perseveringly acted upon, that forms of government were all in all; that there was no inherent or indelible difference in the races of men; that climate and physical circumstances were of little moment; but that one and the same set of republican institutions might with equal advantage be applied to all mankind. With how much obstinacy, with what little success, this principle has been applied by the French during the fervour of their Revolution—by the English, during the less vehement but more protracted delusions which have succeeded it—need be told to none who are acquainted with the history of the last half century. Yet is there no opinion which the wisest of men in every country have more strenuously contested, which experience in every age has more decisively disproved. Corneille had a deeper insight into human

40.
Great error
in suppos-
ing that
some insti-
tutions are
fit for all
men.

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affairs when he observed, that the institutions of men require to be as various as their colour, character, or complexion.* Montesquieu was nearer the truth when he asserted, that no nation ever rose to durable greatness but by institutions in harmony with its national spirit. Guizot arrived at it exactly when he said, "It is by the study of political institutions that the greater part of scholars, historians, and philosophers have sought to ascertain the state of society and the advancement of civilisation. It would have been wiser to study the state of society with a view to understand its institutions. *Before becoming a cause, institutions have been an effect.* Society produces them, ere it is modified by them ; and instead of seeking in systems or forms of government what has been the state of the people, it is the state of the people we should consider in determining what should be the form of their government."¹

¹ Guizot,
Essais, 97.

41.
Prodigious
evils which
have arisen
from this
error.

With how much success this system has been attended in Continental Europe need be told to none who have read this history. The successive rise and fall of the Batavian, Ligurian, Parthenopeian, and the other affiliated republics, which surrounded the great parent democracy of Paris ; the rapid fall of all the constitutions cast off on the mould of that of imperial France, in Poland, Saxony, Westphalia, the Kingdom of Italy, and elsewhere, demonstrate the extreme futility of all such attempts to transplant to one race of men or age of society the institutions suited to another. The similar and still more lamentable failure of constitutional monarchies

* ——— " Par tous les climats
Ne sont pas bien reçus toutes sortes d'états ;
Chaque peuple a le sien conforme à sa nature,
Qu'on ne saurait changer sans lui faire une injure,
Telle est la loi du ciel, dont la sage équité
Sème dans l'univers cette diversité.
Les Macédoniens aiment le monarchique,
Et le reste des Grecs la liberté publique ;
Les Parthes, les Persans, veulent des souverains,
Et le seul consulat est bon pour les Romains."

— *Cinna*, Act ii. scene 1.

propped up by France and England since the peace, in Spain and Portugal, Naples and Piedmont, bears testimony to the same eternal truth. And if any doubt could exist on the subject, the entire ruin of the whole South American republics, where the cause of revolution has been entirely successful, and the dreadful miseries entailed on its beautiful regions by a succession of tyrants, too numerous and obscure for history to record their names, save as a warning to future times, is sufficient to place this vital truth beyond the reach of dispute.

The reasonings of the learned, the declamations of the ardent, the visions of the philanthropic, have in every age been rather directed against the oppression of sovereigns or nobles than the madness of the people. This affords the most decisive demonstration, that the evils flowing from the latter are much greater and more acute than those which have originated with the former ; for it proves that the former have been so tolerable as to have long existed, and therefore have been *long complained of*; whereas those springing from the latter have always been intolerable, and *speedily led to their own abolition*. The evils of democracy, when intrusted with the direction of public affairs, have in every age been found to be so excessive, that they have immediately produced its overthrow. Thus the experience of individuals does not always present the same numerous examples of democratic that it does of aristocratic oppression ; just because the former species of government is so dreadful, that it *invariably, in every old community, has destroyed itself in a single generation*, while the latter has often maintained its dominion for hundreds, or even thousands of years. History, indeed, is full of warnings of the terrible conflagration which democracy never fails to light up in society ; and it is a secret consciousness of the damning force with which it overturns their doctrines, that makes the popular party everywhere treat its records with such contempt. But how many of the great body of the

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42.
Why are
democratic
evils less
generally
complained
of than aris-
tocratic ?

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people, even in the best-informed community, make themselves masters of historical information? Not one in a hundred. Thus, in periods of political convulsion, history points in vain to the awful beacons of former ruin to warn mankind of the near approach of shipwreck; while perfidious democracy, ever alive to the force of falsehood, or misled by the deceitfulness of sin, again for the hundredth time allures the unsuspecting multitude by the exhibition of the forbidden fruit. And thus it is that the strength of revolution consists in the very magnitude of the falsehoods on which its promises are founded, and the universally-felt impossibility of bringing them for any considerable time to the test of actual experience.

43.
What has
led to the
speedy de-
struction of
all demo-
cratic com-
munities?

A system of government founded on principles utterly subversive of order, security, and property, cannot by any possibility maintain itself for any length of time. It must either destroy the community or be destroyed itself. Democracy, accordingly, in an old community, cannot, and never did, exist for any lengthened period. It must either overthrow national freedom, and pave the way for the government of the sword, or be itself subverted by the aroused indignation of all the better classes of mankind. The near approach of the one or other of these results is inevitable, in every old community in which popular passion has once obtained a legislative triumph. Which of the two is to obtain, depends entirely on the degree of moral rectitude and public spirit which pervades the community where it has arisen. In ancient Greece, the democratic republicans, after a brief space of glorious existence, sank under the inherent evils of the form of government which prevailed. The liberties of Rome, rudely torn by the ambition of the Gracchi, soon perished under the contending swords of Cæsar and Pompey; the dreams of French equality were speedily extinguished by the guillotine of Robespierre and the sword of Napoleon. The reason was, that in all these communities the majority were essentially selfish and

corrupt. But in Great Britain, the heart of the nation, amidst all its convulsions, has still been comparatively sound ; and though it has been often dazzled for a time by the false glare of the revolutionary meteor, it has, hitherto at least, ever in the end fixed its gaze upon the principles of order and the precepts of religion. And while the Continental monarchies, during the great moral earthquake of 1848, were speedily thrown into convulsions, and tranquillity was restored only by the power of the sword, in England alone order was preserved by the steadiness of the army and the loyalty of the majority of the people, and attempted revolution in both islands was baffled without the effusion of human blood.

The reason why, in every age of the world, the triumph of democracy has immediately, or at least shortly, been followed by the destruction of all the best interests of society, and the total ruin, in particular, of the whole principles of freedom for which it itself contended, is clearly illustrated by experience ; and the moment it is stated, it must be seen to be one of universal application. It is not that the working-classes of the community are in themselves more depraved or more corrupted than the classes who possess property, and have acquired information : it is probable that all men, in every rank of life, when exposed to the influence of the same temptations, are pretty nearly the same. But there is this difference between them—and it is an essential one in its ultimate effects upon the interests of mankind :—though the dispositions of the Aristocratic or Conservative party may be just as selfish at bottom as those of the Democratic, yet their *interests* keep them, upon the whole, in a more beneficial course of government ; and their habits, through a course of generations, render them more capable than the generality of men of withstanding the temptations of power. There are several causes which, without arising from any virtue in them not shared by the great body of mankind, permanently retain them in a comparatively

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44.

Causes of
the different
tendency of
democracy
and aristocracy.

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fixed, safe, and salutary system, and which, as they depend on general principles, may be expected to be of universal application. And these causes are the following:—

45.
The inter-
ests of the
holders of
property are
permanent.

I. In the first place, the interest of the holders of property is permanently to protect that property from injury or spoliation; whereas the interest of the democratic body, who are for the most part destitute of funds, is to advocate such measures as, by trenching upon or ultimately inducing a division of property, may, as they hope, have the effect of securing for them the advantages which at present they do not enjoy. Accordingly, it has uniformly been found, in all ages, that the holders of property advocate measures to protect that property; while the destitute masses are perpetually impelled to those likely to induce revolutionary spoliation. "*Egestas cupida novarum rerum*,"* is the most prolific source in troubled times of public ruin. This, however, is a matter of the very highest importance; for experience has now abundantly proved, what reason, from the beginning of the world, had asserted, not only that the security of property in every class of society, from the lowest to the highest, is the mainspring of all prosperity and happiness, both public and private, but that freedom itself is never so much endangered as by measures having a tendency to induce the division of property, and by the success of those measures is immediately and irrevocably destroyed. To be satisfied of this, we have only to look to the condition of France, where measures of the most revolutionary and democratic character, directed against the aristocracy of land, of wealth, and of industry, were pursued with the most insatiate thirst, and crowned with the most entire success; and in consequence, there are now no less than *ten millions eight hundred and sixty-two thousand separate landed properties in that kingdom*,

* "Indigence covetous of change."

divided among at least six millions of different owners, while the territorial and commercial aristocracy is almost totally destroyed. And what has been the result? Simply this, that the establishment or preservation of freedom has been rendered utterly impracticable in the country, because no power remains in the state capable of counterbalancing the influence and authority of the central government, resting on the armed force and universal patronage of the public offices.¹

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¹ Statistiques de la France, publiés par le gouvernement.

II. In the next place, although no man who is acquainted with human nature would claim, either for the higher ranks or more educated classes in the community, any natural superiority in talent over their humble but not less useful brethren, yet, on the other hand, nothing can be more consonant to reason, than to assert that those classes in society who, from their affluence, possess leisure, and, from their station, have received the education, requisite for acquiring extensive information, are more likely, in the long-run, to acquire and exhibit the powers necessary for beneficial legislation, than those who, from the necessities of their situation, are chained to daily toil, and, from the limited extent of their funds, have been disabled from acquiring a thorough amount of instruction. In claiming for the higher, and, above all, the more highly educated ranks, a superiority in the art of government to the other classes of the community, it is only meant to assert a principle of universal application, and which has not only been recognised and acted upon from the beginning of the world, but is perfectly familiar to every person practically acquainted with the affairs of life in every department. All the professions and all the trades into which men are divided require a long education, and no inconsiderable amount of actual practice; and, with the exception of those rare individuals to whom nature has given the power of mastering various branches of science or art at once, success is, in general, only to be acquired by constant and undivided attention to one.

46.
The higher classes become trained to government as a profession.

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47.

Examples
of the neces-
sity of this.

No person of a different profession would think of competing with a physician in the treatment of a person afflicted with a dangerous disease, or with a lawyer in the management of an intricate or difficult lawsuit; and probably the most vehement supporter of popular rights would hesitate before he gave an order to a committee of electors to make a coat for him, or intrusted the building of his house to delegates from many different trades, instead of a master-builder, who had acquired proficiency in one of them. In asserting and maintaining the proposition, therefore, that the classes who enjoy property, and have received an extensive education, mainly directed to that end as the profession to which they are called, are better fitted to discharge, with advantage to the public, the intricate and difficult science of government, than the classes which, though endowed with equal natural talents, have not had them directed to the same objects, or matured in the same manner—we only assert a fact of universal notoriety among mankind, and apply to the most difficult branch of knowledge the principles by which alone success ever has or can be attained in the easiest.* And it would be surprising, indeed, if the science of government—a branch of knowledge which requires, more than any other, a course of unremitting study during a very long period, and which can never be mastered but by those whose minds have acquired extensive information on a vast variety of subjects—could be as

* "It is inheritance alone which can create by the side of government a certain number of offices, permanent and established, on the level of the government, living in its sphere, not uninfluenced by the personal interests, the personal passions, which animate the government in its struggle against democracy. What we want is, men who naturally make social politics their study, their profession, as others do jurisprudence, commerce, agriculture, and other employments: we want a class of men essentially politicians. Through a hereditary nobility you attain the end proposed: you have thus always ready a certain number of men whose concern is public affairs; whose place will be the summit, and who will always receive the impulsion of democracy, which will always possess the preponderating voice." — GUIZOT, *Debate on the Peerage*; CAPEFIGUE, *Histoire de Louis Philippe*, v. 360.

successfully pursued by those classes whose time is almost wholly absorbed in other pursuits, as by those who had made it the undivided object and study of their life.

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III. In the third place, the interest of the holders of property naturally and unavoidably leads them not only to resist measures of aggression on it, but to adopt those steps which, although attended with a present burden, promise to produce ultimate advantage. Experience every day proves, that insensibility to the future is, with very rare exceptions, the accompaniment of excessive poverty, and that the power of foresight, and of submitting to present burdens from a sense of ultimate advantage, exists very nearly in proportion to the extent to which that advantage is, by the possession of property, likely to be enjoyed by the individual or his descendants who are to inherit it. Hence the excessive anxiety for the acquisition or increase of wealth which is so general among those who have attained a certain degree of affluence, and the total disregard of the most pressing evils of present poverty and future destitution which may invariably be observed among those to whom indigence has long been familiar. A capitalist has been known to commit suicide because his fortune was reduced to four hundred thousand pounds;* while a beggar sleeps in peace, who does not know where he is to find his next meal. The common proverb, wherever extraordinary care is conspicuous in a domain, that "the eye of a master may be seen there," shows how uniformly the experience of mankind has proved that, generally speaking, it is in vain to look for attention to the future, but among those whose interests property has wound up with its changes. But what is true of individuals is true also of nations; for what is a nation but an aggregate of the persons who compose it? When the Grecian sage said to the enthusiastic declaimer

48.
The interest of the holders of property leads them to look forward to the future.

* Mr Goldsmidt.

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in favour of popular government, "You admire democracy ; go home and try it in your own family," he expressed a truth not less applicable to the social than the domestic concerns of men.

49.
Grievous
want of this
quality in
the great
body of
mankind.

IV. Whoever has closely observed the dispositions of large bodies of mankind, whether in social or political life, must have become sensible that the most uniform and lasting feature by which they are distinguished is that of *insensibility to the future*. They often make the greatest sacrifices at the moment when their passions are strongly roused, or their feelings thoroughly awakened ; and perhaps the most heroic deeds recorded in the annals of the world have been performed under the influence of such excitement. But it is always present emotion, passion, or interest, which is with them the moving power. Future consequences, remote interests, the fate of unborn generations, are, to the great bulk of mankind, matter of hardly any concern. The reason is, that the power of looking forward to the future, and resisting present allurements from a regard to its interests, is a gift which is bestowed by Providence only on a limited portion of society, and never is generally developed, unless among those who are either endowed with remarkable powers of thought, or have had their attention forcibly drawn to the future, by the durable interests of property. Hence it is that democratic communities have been distinguished in every age of the world by such extraordinary want of foresight,—often redeemed, it is true, when danger was pressing, by the most transcendent exertions.

50.
Historical
examples of
this defect.

Hence it was that the Carthaginians at one time refused to send succours to Hannibal, when a reinforcement of a few thousand men would have enabled him to overturn the Roman republic ; and at another, consented to purchase a temporary respite from its hostility, by giving up the arms of the republic to that inveterate enemy. Hence it was that all the eloquence of Demosthenes failed in rousing the Athenians to a sense of the danger arising

from the ambition of Philip, and that, in the midst of his most splendid orations against that ambitious sovereign, they passed a law, not only appropriating the whole funds of the navy to the support of the public theatres, but denouncing the punishment of *death* against any who should presume to propose even that that portion of the revenue should be restored to its former destination.* Thence it was that America urged on a naval war with Great Britain, when she had only four frigates and eight sloops to protect her vast defenceless and commercial navy; and thence it was that the ministry of England, under the pressure of undue popular influence, during the long peace which followed the battle of Waterloo, went on, without any necessity save of their own creation,† taking off one indirect tax after another, till they had fairly annihilated the noble fabric of the sinking fund, and rendered the national debt a hopeless burden upon the nation. Thence, too, it was that Polish democracy obstinately resisted all the efforts of John Sobieski to establish durable institutions and a regular army, and fell at last under the swords of the surrounding nations, which they had taken no means whatever to avert. Thence it was that Great Britain, under a popular government from 1815 to 1845, suffered her military and naval establishments to decline in so great a degree, that we have the authority of the Duke of Wellington for the assertion, that the empire which conquered Napoleon could not, at the close of that period, muster above ten thousand regular troops on the coast of Sussex, to save London from capture, and the empire from destruc-

* "The fund originally intended for the exigencies of the war had already been appropriated to the theatre; and a law was now enacted, on the motion of Eubulus, an artful flatterer of the multitude, rendering it a *capital crime* to propose any change in this unexampled and most whimsical disposal."—It was in vain for Demosthenes to resist the popular torrent. He was opposed and overwhelmed by Eubulus and Demades, who obtained an immense majority of the votes.—GILLIES'S *Greece*, Chap. xxxv. vol. iv. 75.

† By the contraction of the currency by the Act of 1819.

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tion.* On the other hand, the long and glorious existence of Rome, Venice, and Great Britain, when under aristocratic rule, clearly demonstrates, that where the energy of democracy is duly restrained and coerced by the foresight of patrician power, a lasting and glorious existence is secured for the state, by the constant effort of its rulers to guard against ultimate and remote dangers.

51.
Security
which the
aristocratic
form of go-
vernment
affords
against the
corruption
of power.

V. In the fifth place, there arises in the ascendancy of the persons possessed of property and education, provided always that they are duly restrained and watched by the more numerous but less educated classes of society, the best security which human weakness ever yet devised against the corruption of government, and the selfish dispositions of those intrusted with the reins of power. Without doubt, the aristocratic classes are men as well as the republicans, and therefore open to all the weakness, corruption, and vices of humanity ; and, installed in unresisted sovereignty, they will ever in future, as in past time, strive to farm out the people chiefly to their own profit and advantage. But the material thing is, that in this form of government, when duly tempered by freedom in the lower classes, *they are not permitted* to act without control, but are continually watched and restrained by the inferior but not less intelligent classes, who, being without the actual possession of power, are less liable to the influence of its corruptions. This is one of the most important observations which can be made with reference to the science of government, and it explains at once the universal failure of all attempts to establish permanent good government on a democratic basis, and the greater chance of its enjoyment under a well-tempered and checked aristocracy. The reason is not apparent at first sight, but, when stated, it is sufficiently convin-

* DUKE OF WELLINGTON to SIR JOHN BURGOYNE, 7th Jan. 1847.

cing, and deserves the serious consideration of every reflecting mind.

“It has been often observed,” says Mr Hume, “that there is a wide difference between the judgment which befalls the conduct of others, and that which we ourselves pursue when placed in similar circumstances. The reason is obvious : in judging of others, we are influenced by our reason and our feelings ; in acting for ourselves, we are directed by our reason, our feelings, *and our desires.*” In this simple observation is to be found the key, both to the fatal corruption which democratic ascendancy never fails to produce in the state, and to the more effectual check which, in conservative ascendancy, is provided at once against its own tendency to selfish projects, and the dangerous encroachments of the other classes of society. When the holders of property are in power, and the masses are in vigilant but restrained opposition, the majority of the community, who give the tone to public thought, necessarily incline to the support of virtuous and patriotic principles, *because they have no interest to do otherwise.* Hence, although doubtless in such communities some abuses do prevail, and will prevail to the end of the world, from the universal tendency to corruption in mankind when acting for themselves, and impelled by their own interests, yet, upon the whole, the administration of affairs is comparatively pure and virtuous, and the community obtains a larger share of good government than has ever yet been obtained under any other form of human institutions. Above all, in such circumstances, the general mind is preserved untainted. Public spirit is general, and forms the mainspring of national action ; it is pure because it has no inducement to become corrupted. This invaluable temper of mind, more precious far than all laws or political institutions, not only preserves the heart of the nation entire, and forms a salutary control upon the measures of the holders of power,

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52.

Causes of
the prevalence of
virtuous
opinions
in a rightly
organised
community.

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but, by influencing the very atmosphere which they breathe, imparts a large share of its glorious spirit to those in possession of its reins, and open to its seductions. And hence the long-continued public spirit and greatness of the British and Roman empires, and of all communities in which power has been for a considerable period in possession of the holders of property, and the general thought has been directed by the aristocracy of intellect. The aristocracy has been sufficiently coerced by popular influence, to be hindered from indulging in the corruptions to which it would be otherwise inclined.

53.
And of the
rapid cor-
ruption of
opinion in
democratic
states.

But all this is totally reversed, when the popular leaders get themselves installed in power, and the democratic party are in possession of an irresistible preponderance in the state. The moment that this fatal change occurs, a total revolution takes place, not merely in the conduct of government, but in the vigilance with which they are guarded and watched by the great body of the people. The democratic leaders, now the holders of power and dispensers of influence, find themselves surrounded by a host of hungry dependants, to whom necessity is law; and who, impelled by a secret consciousness that their political ascendancy is not destined to be of long duration, because they are disqualified to maintain it, strive only to make the best use of their time, by providing for themselves and their relations at the public expense, without the slightest regard to any consideration of the public advantage. On the other hand, the great body of the people, formerly so loud in their clamours against corruption, and their demand for a virtuous and patriotic administration of public affairs, now quietly pass by on the other side, and not only remain passive spectators of, but often openly and with shameless effrontery defend, every species of abuse, because they profit by it. Or they preserve a studious silence, and endeavour to huddle up those

nefarious, and to them beneficial excesses, under the cry of a reformation of the state in some other department, or a wider extension of the power from which their leaders derive such considerable benefit. Thus, not only is the power and influence of government immediately directed to the most corrupt and selfish purposes, but legislation itself, and in the end the national mind, becomes tainted with the same inherent and universal vice. In the general scramble, where every one seems on the look-out for himself, no other object is attended to but the promotion of separate interests or class elevation. The public press in such a state of society seldom denounces, in general cordially supports, all such abuses, because their leaders and the writers in its columns are benefited by them. Such as do venture to assail them, produce no sort of impression except on the indignant few, who, excluded from the feast, brood in gloomy silence over its excesses. What is worst of all, public feeling becomes universally and irrevocably debased, because the great body of the people profit, or hope to profit, by the corruption in which the leaders of their party indulge. Corneille had a deeper insight into human nature, when, in the inimitable declamation against democracy which he puts into the mouth of Cinna, he made this the greatest evil and lasting reproach of popular institutions.*

* "Mais quand le peuple est maître, on n'agit qu'en tumulte ;
 La voix de la raison jamais ne se consulte ;
 Les honneurs sont vendus aux plus ambitieux ;
 L'autorité livrée aux plus séditions.
 Ces petits souverains qu'il fait pour une année,
 Voyant d'un temps si court leur puissance bornée,
 Des plus heureux desseins font avorter le fruit,
 De peur de le laisser à celui qui les suit ;
 Comme ils ont peu de part au biens, dont ils ordonnent,
 Dans le champ de public largement ils moissonnent,
 Assurés que chacun leur pardonne aisément,
 Espérant à son tour un pareil traitement.
 Le pire des états, c'est l'état populaire."

—*Cinna*, Act ii. scene 1.

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51.

Necessity of
long posses-
sion of
power to
restrain its
excesses.

VI. No one can have witnessed the practical working of human nature in the various classes of society, especially in highly civilised states, without having become sensible that there is another cause of the general failure and dreadful evils of democratic institutions of more general importance than any of the preceding. This is the experienced inability of the human mind to withstand the seductions of wealth and the temptations of power without previous training, not only in a single, *but in many preceding generations*. As these are the most powerful assailants of virtue that exist, so the combined efforts of several successive ages are required to enable man to withstand them. A single one is never equal to the conflict. Hence the rapid and hopeless degeneracy which invariably overtakes rude and poor states when they conquer civilised and opulent ones, and the corresponding recklessness of the indigent when suddenly elevated to wealth. As the nobles acquired, in the days of chivalry, a sort of hereditary skill in the use of arms, and certainly a hereditary grace in manners, which in general may still be witnessed in their descendants, so in more pacific periods, they acquire, as if by descent, a faculty of withstanding the temptations of power, and often moderating its exercise, to which classes unaccustomed to its enjoyment have never been found equal. Doubtless, aristocratic abuses exist, and have existed from the beginning of the world, wherever such a form of government is or has been established. But, bad as they are, they are light in comparison of the evils of democratic ascendancy. Decisive evidence of this will be found by the reflecting mind in the long prevalence of, and general complaints against the former, contrasted with the comparatively rare occurrence and brief existence of the latter. Insupportable evils are always rapidly terminated by the aroused indignation of mankind, as acute diseases generally and quickly prove fatal. It is such as though oppressive are yet tolerable,

grating but not destructive, which last long and excite common complaint, because their consequences are generally present.

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It is not difficult to perceive how it happens that a hereditary aristocracy becomes in the course of ages imbued with feelings which render them more capable than a changing democracy of resisting the temptations of power. It is that they acquire new objects of ambition suited to such a state of things, from the long enjoyment of the former ones. Wealth has ceased to be a distinction, for it has become hereditary ; power even is comparatively unheeded, for it has been long enjoyed. Ever covetous of distinction, the human mind, amidst this satiety of the ordinary objects of desire, works out new ones for itself. Eminence is sought in a novel and exclusive career. Elegance in dress, manners, and habits, comes to be the great criterion of distinction ; the point of honour is established, and fixes a new code of paramount authority ; common vices are shunned, not because they are wrong, but because they are vulgar. These desires and habits, acting upon several successive generations, at length come to form a character among the hereditary aristocracy which, though doubtless tainted with the usual proportion of the corruption of the children of Adam, is yet less prone than that of ordinary men to the peculiar vices which arise from the possession of power. They have learned to shun those vices, not so much because of their iniquity, as from their being those into which their inferiors, when invested with authority, usually fall. "My janizary," says Chateaubriand, "made as much of the ensigns of authority as if he had been a parvenu." The secret pride of the old noble here revealed the main cause of the comparative courtesy with which power is in general wielded by the higher ranks.

55.
Causes of
this peculiarity in
the constitution of
human
nature.

The clearest proof of the truth of these principles may be seen in the general opinion, and it is evinced in the

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56.

Evidence of
this which
common
language
affords.

ordinary language and habitual expressions of men. The common proverb as to the consequence of putting a beggar on horseback, and the general observation, that no man was ever in the end enriched by getting a prize of twenty thousand pounds in the lottery, proves the universal sense of the danger of sudden elevation, either in rank or fortune. No people ever had, no man ever heard, a corresponding proverb as to the effect of setting a gentleman on horseback. On the contrary, the expressions of all modern nations point to the restraint on insolence of manner which arises, as if by instinct, with certain advantages of birth. The word *gentleman* shows that common experience has associated mildness of demeanour with elevation of descent; "chivalrous," the highest praise that can be bestowed on manners, still points to horsemen as those in whom they are most frequently found; "courtesy," yet reminds us of the court of the castle, where its graces were first learned. Heroic or disinterested conduct is universally termed "noble"—disgraceful ones are stigmatised as vulgar or ignoble. The word "gallantry" never ceases to remind us that, if personal courage distinguishes those of noble descent, it is too often allied, from the admiration it excites in the other sex, with corresponding, but in a manner peculiar, vices. If you ask a person of either sex, in the middle ranks, how they came to be deceived by such a one, the answer generally is that they took him for a gentleman. No one ever heard it assigned as a reason for a deception, that the cheat was a gentleman, but that they took him for a mechanic. Numerous associations have been formed, especially in this country, by the working classes for their relief; but it has never been found that, unless where their direction and the management of their funds have been taken by the higher classes, they have had any lasting success.

The indignation so commonly expressed by the great body of men against the vices of their superiors, affords

no sort of security that they will not, if they have the means, adopt them. The extraordinary difference between the conduct and sentiments of mankind, when judging of the actions of others, and when acting for themselves, may be every day witnessed in the public theatres. Observe the conduct of the people, and, most of all, the humblest classes of the community, when their feelings are roused by the performance of a noble tragedy, and the enunciation of exalted sentiments, clothed in the colours of poetry, and enforced by the energy and genius of theatrical representation—such as an admiring world formerly witnessed in Siddons and Kemble, and our age has witnessed in Helen Faucit and Mademoiselle Rachel. How loudly are generous sentiments applauded; how enthusiastic is the ardour produced by patriotic emotion; how strongly does the very air of the theatre seem impregnated with the most generous and patriotic sentiments! How many inexperienced observers have been led to imagine, when witnessing those bursts of lofty enthusiasm, and seeing how uniformly they commence with the humblest classes of society—how many have been led to conclude that human nature is at bottom virtuous and pure; that selfishness and vice are the growth only of riches and palaces; and that ample security for a pure and salutary administration of affairs will be found in the admission of the masses of men into the uncontrolled direction of public affairs!

Follow out the assembled multitude who have been swayed by such generous emotions in the theatre, and see who they are, and what they do, when exposed to the separate influence of the sins which most easily beset them. Among the so recently generous and elevated crowd, will be found the profligate husband and the faithless wife—the hard-hearted creditor and the fraudulent debtor—the reckless prodigal and the depraved libertine—the besotted drunkard and the abandoned sensualist—the cruel enemy and the perfidious friend—the hard-hearted

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57.
Example of
this difference
afforded in a
theatre.

58.

Contrast between the
feelings of
the audience
and their
conduct.

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egotist and the rancorous foe. Among the many who but the evening before seemed animated only with the most pure and generous sentiments, will be found every form and variety of human wickedness, and by them will be practised every deed by which man can inflict misery on man. Such and so different is man when judging of others according to his reason and feelings, and man when acting for himself under the influence of his reason, his feelings, and his passions. Hence it is that, during the worst periods of the French Revolution, the sanguinary mob who had been entranced in the evening by the noble and elevating sentiments of Racine or Corneille, arose in the morning with fresh vigour to pursue their career of selfishness and their work of blood ; and hence it is that the enthusiastic masses, whose sentiments appeared so pure, and their feelings so exalted, in the commencement of that convulsion, when declaiming against the corruptions of power, that their hearts might be thought to have opened within them the springs of heaven, became so utterly selfish, corrupt, and cruel, when exposed themselves to its temptations, that they appeared to have been steeped in hell.

59.
Cause of the
cruelty of
democracy.

If the influences of these combined circumstances are taken into consideration, it will not appear surprising that cruelty has in so remarkable a manner been in every age the characteristic of democratic government ; and that the excess of the populace in that particular has in general been the circumstance that has most contributed to the overthrow of their power. Generally speaking, cruelty is more the result, at least in civilised society, of fear, than of any settled savage disposition. Men massacre others when they are apprehensive of punishment or death themselves. It is in the secret dread which a democracy always entertains that its position in power is forced and unnatural, and that it is destined ere long to fall under the government of property and intelligence, that the true cause of the persevering energy with which

it attacks both the possessions and the lives of the wealthier classes is to be found. It is not that the lower classes are by nature more bloodthirsty than the higher, but that they entertain a constant apprehension of falling again under their influence, and possibly, in that event, undergoing the punishment which their crimes may have deserved. Thence the saying of Marat, which so well expressed the feelings of the Jacobins of Paris, "that there was no hope for France till two hundred and eighty thousand heads had fallen ;" thence the cry, "Down with the bank !" which destroyed three-fourths of the commercial wealth of America ; and thence the saying, "To stop the Duke, go for gold !" which, during a period of revolutionary convulsion, caused eighteen hundred thousand pounds, in three days, to be drawn out of the coffers of the Bank of England. In all these cases it is not any absolute *pleasure* in the destruction of life or property which leads to these extreme and terrible measures, fraught with such awful results on the part of the democracy : it is the *terror* of losing a power which they are in secret conscious they are unfit to exercise, which in reality is the motive of their proceedings. They are aware that if their opponents exist, they will in the long run fall under their government ; and therefore they see no chance of safety but in their entire destruction.

VII. There is another most material point of distinction between the government of property and education and that of numbers, which is, that in the former case the persons intrusted with the direction of affairs are comparatively *fixed* and few in number, and consequently the invaluable checks of individual responsibility and public observation attach to them ; while, in the latter, the real ruling power is a multitude of perpetually changing persons, upon no one of whom can the responsibility of any measures originating in public opinion be fixed. At the same time, the rulers and magistrates are so con-

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60.

Want of all
responsibility
in the real
rulers of
democratic
society.

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tinually shifted, that *they* avoid also all responsibility for the measures in which they have had only a temporary share. It was long ago observed by Sallust, in the admirable declamation against aristocracy which he puts into the mouth of Marius, that the condition of patricians is so prominent, and the light shining on them so bright, that even their smallest faults are perpetually exposed to the public gaze.* It is the consciousness of this perpetual responsibility attaching to them, which, in a free community, where the opinion of the middle classes has a material weight in public affairs, constitutes the greatest and most salutary check on their conduct. On the other hand, it is the obscurity which numbers throw over any individual of the multitude, and the consequent, not merely impunity, but liberation from all legal responsibility or moral control which they enjoy, which constitutes one main source of the danger of their proceedings. "In the multitude of counsellors," says Solomon, "there is safety." "Yes," said Dr Gregory, "but it is safety to the *counsellors*, not the *counselled*; for each lays the blame upon the other."

61.
Its disastrous effects.

In a democratic community, the greatest measures are often *forced* upon government by an insurgent pressure from below, without any man being able to tell either who were its authors, how it began, or where it is to end. Thus the state may be ultimately ruined, no one knows how, or by whom. In the officers also, whether of the executive or judicial department, the jealousy of the people at any one possessing power which does not flow from, and frequently revert to themselves, is such, that it very soon becomes impossible either to maintain any stable system for the public government, or to retain experienced ability for any length of time in the direction of affairs. Rotation of office is the principle on which

* "Nam quanto vita illorum præclarior, tanto horum socordia flagitiosior. Et profecto ita, si res habet, majorum gloria posteris lumen est; neque bona neque mala eorum in occulto patitur."—SALLUST, *Bell. Jug.*

all their appointments are rested. The moment a man becomes acquainted with his official duties, he is displaced, to make way for another who is as ignorant of them as the first was when he entered on them. Men would rather be ill governed by many in succession, than well by a few permanently. Hence the proverbially short duration of ministerial existence in all countries during periods of democratic ascendancy; and hence the frequent appointment even of *judicial* officers in France during the Revolution, and in America at this time, during the pleasure of the people, as evinced by their two legislative houses, or for a period of only a few years.¹ Not the least evils of democratic ascendancy will be found to have originated from this cause, and it affords the true solution of many of the catastrophes, both social and national, which have been traced in the preceding pages.

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¹ *Ante*, ch. xc. § 74.

VIII. But most of all is a subversion of the right order of society to be apprehended from the undue preponderance of the inhabitants of *towns*, which never fails to follow in the wake of a really democratic constitution. Sir James Mackintosh has well explained the way in which this effect takes place. "A representation founded on numbers merely, would be productive of gross inequality in that very class to which all others are sacrificed. The difference between the people of the country and those of towns is attended with consequences which no contrivance of law can obviate. Towns are the nursery of political feeling. The frequency of meeting, the warmth of discussion, the variety of pursuit, the rivalry of interest, the opportunities of information, even the fluctuations and extremes of fortune, direct the minds of the inhabitants to public concerns, and render them the seats of republican governments, or the preservers of liberty in monarchies. But if this difference be considerable among educated men, it seems immeasurable when we contemplate its effects on the more numerous classes. Among

62.

Fatal effects of a democratic constitution in giving an ascendancy to towns.

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them no strong public sentiment can be kept up without numerous meetings. It is chiefly where they are animated by a view of their own strength and numbers, and when they are stimulated by an eloquence suited to their character, that the thoughts of such are directed to subjects so far from their common feelings as the concerns of the commonwealth. All these aids are necessarily wanting to the dispersed inhabitants of the country, whose frequent meetings are rendered impossible by distance and poverty, who have few opportunities of being excited by discussion and declamation, and very imperfect means of correspondence with those at a distance. An agricultural people is generally submissive to the laws, and observant of the ordinary duties of life, but stationary and stagnant, without the enterprise which is the source of improvement, and the public spirit which preserves liberty. If *the whole political powers* of the state, therefore, were thrown into the hands of the lowest classes, *it would be nearly all exercised by the towns.* About two-elevenths of the people of England inhabit towns which have a population of ten thousand souls or upwards. A body so large, strengthened by union, discipline, and spirit, *would without difficulty domineer over the lifeless and scattered peasants.* All active talent would in such a case fly to the towns, where alone its power could be felt. The choice of the country would be dictated by the cry of the towns, wherever it was thought it was possible to take it from the quiet influence of the resident proprietors.* What a commentary on these words, and demonstration of their truth, has been afforded by the annals of England, since the Reform Bill passed, which gave two-thirds of the seats in the House of Commons to the members for boroughs!

In contrasting thus the opposite effects of an aristocratic and democratic government on human affairs, it is an *open* aristocracy that is in view; that is to say, an aristo-

* MACKINTOSH'S collected *Essays*, iii. 219, 220.

cracy blending with, and open to, the intermixture of the most prominent and deserving of the middle classes of the community. If this is not the case — if the ruling power of the state is an aristocracy, like that of Venice or old France, which excludes all admission into its ranks of the most eminent and deserving of the inferior classes of society, and has obtained such power in the state as to be able to stifle or extinguish the voice of public opinion, experience warrants the assertion, that though the evils which have now been stated are avoided, their place is supplied by others of a different description, less acute but more lasting. Such a government is abundantly stable in its purposes and judicious in its councils, at least with reference to its own interests; but is it equally favourable to the development of industry, the growth of freedom, or the advancing of social progress? Have the brightest pages of history arisen under its influence? Does experience warrant the assertion that it is the form of government most conducive to general felicity? The fact will be found to be directly the reverse.

Is not its invariable tendency to limit power, patronage, and office to its own order? to treat the middle and working classes of society as an inferior species of creation, and rule the state for the exclusive and peculiar advantage of its own members? Are not genius, intellect, energy in the middle ranks, studiously depressed; and talent encouraged and rewarded, only so far as it is exerted in their service, and directed by their will? Is not office chiefly bestowed upon inferior birth as the reward of servility? — is not an instinctive horror felt for independent character, and pliant ability the great object at once of search and promotion? Experience unequivocally demonstrates that these questions must be answered in the affirmative, and renders it evident, that though the evils with which it is attended are not of so piercing and terrible a kind as those which flow from democratic ascen-

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63.

It is an open, not a close aristocracy, which is attended with these advantages.

64.

Evils of the latter species of government.

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dency, yet they are far more enduring in their operation, and are greatly more difficult of removal. The ruling power in such a society is not, as in the ever-shifting wheel of popular ascendancy, withdrawn from responsibility, but it is relieved from its effects. It is not unknown to public opinion, but it is able to set its verdict at defiance. Resting on the support of a limited class in the state, the interests of whose members are the same, it is often able to disregard entirely alike the advantage and wishes of every inferior rank in society.

65.

Contention
of aristocra-
cy and de-
mocracy in
all free
states.

Of all the possessions of mankind, there is none which they at once so universally desire, and so tenaciously retain, as power. Property itself has not been found to be, in general, so vehement an object of contention; though unquestionably its advantages are more substantial, and its loss attended with greater evils. The reason is, that the contest, even for these advantages, has generally taken place on the preliminary question of political influence. Like the ramparts of a fortress, worthless in themselves, but commanding all that is valuable within their circuit, it is there that the deadly battle in the breach has been fought. Aristocracy has invariably been found to be to the last degree jealous of any encroachments on this its most highly-prized inheritance; and if not the bloodiest, at least the most long-continued feuds which have desolated the world, have arisen from the obstinate and skilful resistance which it has invariably made to the efforts of commercial wealth or popular ambition to be admitted to a share of its influence. From the days when the contests of the patricians and plebeians convulsed Rome during three centuries, and Sylla and Marius, at the head of the military force of their rival factions, drenched the republic with blood, and disgraced it by proscriptions, to those when the whole world was involved in the conflict of the *Tiers Etat* of France with the property of Europe, and the British empire was

shaken to its centre by the fierce conflict of the aristocratic and democratic parties on the arena of parliamentary reform, this has been the most lasting object of contention among mankind. And so vehement has been the discord which it has occasioned, and so furious the passions developed during its continuance, that England is the only example recorded in history in which they have not led quickly to the total destruction of freedom, either by the despotism invariably following on democratic triumph, or by the binding fetters which proclaim the victory of aristocratic power. And perhaps even among its inhabitants the evil is only adjourned, and democratic triumph has implanted, if not an acute, yet a wasting and mortal malady in the British empire.

It was the plaintive conclusion of the Roman annalist, that liberty moulded from the blending of the aristocratic, democratic, and monarchical powers, is slow of growth, difficult of maintenance, quick of decay.* Subsequent experience has added fresh proofs of the observation of Tacitus, and yet illustrated not less forcibly the incomparable energy which is communicated to mankind during the brief period which elapses between the first expansion and last triumph of democratic vigour. The Roman empire in ancient, the British in modern times, have for ever demonstrated this important truth. The first conquered the world by its arms, and humanised it by its wisdom; the second subjected the waves to its dominion, and spread along its shores the light of knowledge, the institutions of civilisation, the blessings of religion. But it is only a brief period of such transcendent brightness which Providence allows to any nation. Its advent marks the efflorescence of civilisation, and is generally contemporary with the highest point of national fortunes. Its decline is followed by a total decay of social

66.
Great effects and brief endurance of combined aristocratic direction and democratic vigour.

* "Cunctas nationes et urbes, populus aut primores aut singuli regunt. Dilecta ex his, et constituta reipublicæ forma, laudari facilius quam evenire, sed si evenit, *haud diuturna* esse potest."—TACITUS.

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growth, and a speedy termination of national existence. This is not a mere fanciful analogy suggested by the oft-observed resemblance between individual and national growth, but a part of that mysterious unity of design which runs through every part of the creation, and unites in one harmonious system the minutest object in the material, and the grandest revolutions in the moral world.

77.
Reasons of
this moral
law.

Nor is the reason difficult to be discerned which has led to the establishment of this moral law. Such is the surpassing force of the power which during this brief period is brought to bear on human affairs, and such the energy which during its continuance it communicates to mankind, that its long existence would prove inconsistent with the independent existence of nations. Democratic vigour, guided by aristocratic direction, is invincible. If to any nation were given, for a series of ages, the combined wisdom and energy of Rome, from the days of Hannibal to those of Gracchus, or of England, from those of Chatham to those of Wellington, it would infallibly acquire the empire of the world. As Providence, therefore, in its wisdom, has established the diversity of nations, and allotted to each the performance of its appropriate part on the general theatre, it has wisely ordained that to none an immortal existence should be assigned ; but that each, after its part has been performed, should be removed from the scene, and make way for its destined successors on the stage. National vanity, social partiality, may contest this progress, and contend on the principle of perfectibility for the perpetual endurance of particular communities. But experience gives no countenance to these ideas ; and probably an attentive observer of the signs of the times in those nations where such expectations are most generally indulged, will discover no equivocal indications of its approach to the common charnel-house of mortality.

Observation readily suggests the causes to which the

invariable tendency to decay in human institutions is owing. In this, as in many other cases, we see the operation of the same principle in the path of private life as the general fate of nations. It is sin which has brought death to nations as well as individuals. It is the multiplication of selfish desires, artificial enjoyments, indolent or luxurious habits, consequent upon the increase of wealth and the long continuance of civilisation, which prove fatal to the virtue, patriotism, and self-denial which are essential to national prosperity. The thirst for riches comes to supersede every other desire. Patriotism itself yields to its vehemence.* “Wealth accumulates, and men decay.” Opulence, from the incessant effort to augment it, grows up into immense masses, fatal to the virtue of its possessors, on the one hand; and indigence multiplies with fearful rapidity, destructive to public security, on the other. The great become covetous, the poor reckless. Selfish opulence ceases to be patriotic, destitute misery to be obedient. Grasping wealth starves the state, turbulent poverty fears not to overturn it: the nation becomes poor, its magnates rich. “Pro his nos habemus luxuriam atque avaritiam; publice egestatem, privatim opulentiam; laudamus divitias, sequimur inertiam; inter bonos et malos nullum discrimen: omnia virtutis præmia ambitio possidet.”† Happy the nation which sees in its internal condition none of the effects of greatness which Cato observed and Sallust has recorded! Such a state may anticipate prolonged, possibly immortal existence; but where are we to find it amidst the passions, the vices, and the follies of the world?

That the religion and institutions of modern times have given a much longer lease of life to the nations of

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68.

To what cause is this general tendency to decay in mankind to be ascribed?

1 Sall. de
Bel. Cat.

* “Εισορῶ δειλὸν δ’ ὁ πλοῦτος, καὶ φιλοψυχὸν κακόν.”

EURIPIDES, *Phænissæ*, 606.

† “Instead of these virtues, we have luxury and avarice; public want, private riches. We praise wealth, we follow indolence. All distinction ceases between the good and bad: ambition carries off all the rewards of virtue.”—SALLUST, *Catiline War*.

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69.

Increased
principle
of vitality
in modern
nations.

Europe than were enjoyed by those of antiquity, must be obvious to the most superficial observer. In Asia, the vigour of the chief who seizes the diadem rarely descends to his successor who inherits it; and even the hardihood of a new race of northern conquerors is found, after a few generations, to be irrecoverably merged in the effeminacy of their subjects. Hence the extraordinary facility with which they are overturned, and the perpetual alternation of external conquest and internal corruption which marks every age of Asiatic history. In Europe, on the other hand, it is at once evident that a more durable order of things has been induced with the free spirit which, from the days of Agamemnon, seems to have been the distinctive mark of the race of Japhet. Though the seeds of evil are not less generally implanted in them than elsewhere among mankind, yet they are combated with a vigour, and counteracted by a salient principle of life unknown in any other quarter of the globe. This was apparent in the glorious achievements, immortal genius, and long duration of the Grecian and Italian republics; and it is still more conspicuous in the states of modern times, which have already attained, without any decisive symptoms of decrepitude, a length of existence exceeding that allotted even to the enduring fortitude of ancient Rome.

70.

But they
still have
the seeds of
decay in
their
bosom.

But nothing warrants the assertion that these superior powers of vitality have extinguished the seeds of mortality, or that the communities of Europe have attained such a degree of stability as to be able to defy alike the shock of external disaster and the mouldering of internal decay. The strife of faction, the growth of luxury, the private wealth, the public poverty, the selfishness of the few, the profligacy of the many, which were marked as the premonitory symptoms of decline in the states of antiquity, are equally conspicuous in modern times. The southern states of Europe appear to be irrevocably entangled in the meshes of private enjoyment; possibly

the northern are not yet fully immersed, only because they were longer of tasting its sweets. There is more vigour in them, because energy is impressed on man by the rigours of the climate in which he dwells ; but vigour alone will not insure national existence any more than it will individual prosperity. Everything depends on the direction which it takes. Turned to selfish ends, it will only accelerate the approach to public ruin. There is nothing in the civilisation around us which authorises either the belief or the wish that it should be perpetual. This may at least with confidence be affirmed, that length of life is given to us, equally as to our predecessors, just in proportion to the duration of public and private virtues ; and that the only elixir of life which can be given to empires, is to be found in the virtue and resolution of their inhabitants.

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And this illustrates the final cause of a peculiarity in the condition of the species, which has long been the subject of mistake or lamentation. This is the universal prevalence of WAR among mankind. If the effect of this terrible scourge in itself be considered upon the immediate happiness or misery of the human race, it must appear the most unmitigated evil which the justice or wrath of Heaven has let loose upon guilty men. If we reflect that its object is to train mankind up to mutual slaughter, and direct the whole energies and powers of the human mind to the destruction of the species, it is impossible to deny that it appears at first sight in no other light than a devastating evil. Philosophers and philanthropists, accordingly, have concurred from the earliest times in regarding it in this light—in deprecating mutual hostility and national passions as the most dreadful evils which can afflict the world, and earnestly endeavouring by all means in their power to diminish the frequency of this dreadful scourge of humanity. Sanguine hopes were entertained, at the commencement of the French Revolution, that a new era in this important particular had

71.
Final cause
of war
among men.
Its appa-
rently un-
mitigated
evils.

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opened upon the species. It was expected that former contests, stimulated by the ambition of kings and the rivalry of ministers, would cease; and that, by the accession to power of the class who were the principal sufferers by hostilities, the disposition to wage them would at once be terminated. It had come to pass as a general axiom, that war was the consequence of monarchical and aristocratic governments, and would disappear with their removal; and general applause followed the humane sentiment of the poet—

“ War is a game which, were the people wise,
Kings should not play at.”

72.
Which were
only in-
creased by
democratic
ascendency.

But when the matter was put to the test, experience soon demonstrated, what had long been known to the few observers of historical facts, that these expectations were entirely illusory, and that not only was the tendency to war noways diminished, but it was fearfully increased by the augmentation of popular power. Angry passions, it was then found, came to agitate not only the rulers, but the masses of men; the interests of whole classes in one community were thought to be arrayed against those of the corresponding ones in another; and the “*multis utile bellum*” was found to meet with innumerable advocates in a period of revolutionary excitement and distress. Accordingly, the warlike propensities never appeared so strong as in the newly-emancipated French people; and the longest, the bloodiest, and the most devastating war recorded in modern annals, was the immediate consequence of the pacific dreams of the authors of their philosophic Revolution. Nor have these aggressive propensities been confined to the vehement passions of that dreadful convulsion. They have been not less conspicuous in other states, during periods of comparative repose. England, since the popular revolution of 1832, has advanced with accelerated steps, and with the entire concurrence of its inhabitants, in the career of Oriental con-

quest: Cabul and Nankin have seen its standards; the Ameers, the Sikhs have been subdued by its arms; Australia and New Zealand have become the seats of its colonisation. Amidst incessant declamations on the blessings of peace by the Transatlantic orators, the United States of America have entered on the path of foreign aggression with a fixity of purpose, and disregard of the rights of others, worthy to be placed beside the policy of the Roman conquerors of the world.* They have subdued the Mexicans, defrauded the English of Maine, stretched into Oregon, crossed the Rocky Mountains, and acquired in California treasures destined perhaps to effect a social revolution in the world. And the first effect of the French Revolution of 1848 was to light up the flames of war in every country of Europe; to superadd to the contests of interest, those of passion and race; to arm not only the National Guard against the Red Republican, but the Italian against the German, the Prussian against the Dane, the Bohemian against the Austrian, the Muscovite against the Magyar, and drench Europe with blood, to be stayed only by the triumph of the aristocratic principle, at least in the first stage of the contest.

If this world were the final resting-place of man—if it were intended to be the seat of unbroken happiness, and the human mind was so innocent, and so deserving, as to be capable of enjoying unmixed felicity, such a marked and irretrievable tendency in human affairs might well be a subject of unmingled regret. But if the real condition of mankind be considered, and the necessity of suffering to the purification of the human heart taken into consideration, the reflecting observer will incline to a very different view of the matter. That war is an unbounded source of human suffering to those engaged in or affected

73.

Necessity of
war for the
purification
of mankind.

* Quincy Adams, in his speech in the Congress on the Oregon question, openly rested their alleged right to that territory on the Divine principle, "Replenish the earth, and subdue it." This idea has been often felt before, but this was the first time it was ever announced as a vindication of conquest in a grave legislative assembly.

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by it, can be doubted by none ; and if any were disposed to be sceptical on the subject, his hesitation would probably be removed by a consideration of the devastating campaigns that followed the French Revolution. But is not suffering necessary to the purification of the human heart ? Is it not in that ordeal that its selfishness, its corruptions, and its stains are washed out ? Have we not been told by the highest authority, that man is made perfect by suffering ? Is not misfortune, anxiety, and distress, the severe but salutary school of individual improvement ? And what is war, but anxiety, distress, and often anguish to nations ?

74.
Its salutary
effects in
this view.

Its great and lasting effect is, to counteract the concentration of human interests upon individual interests—to awaken the patriotic and generous affections—to rouse that general ardour which, spreading from breast to breast, obliterates for a time the selfishness of private ambition, and leads to the elevating admission of heroic feelings. Peace exhibits the enchanting prospect of rich fields, flourishing cities, spacious harbours, growing wealth, and undisturbed tranquillity ; but beneath that smiling surface are to be found the rankest and most dangerous passions of the human breast. There it is that pleasure spreads its lures, and interest its attractions, and cupidity its selfishness. There are to be found the hard-hearted master and the reckless servant, the princely landlord and the destitute tenant, the profligate husband and the faithless wife, “*et corrumpere et corrumpi sæculum vocatur.*”* The war of weapons ceases, but that of interest begins : the battle-field is no longer stained with blood ; but from the senate-house issue decrees, and from the ascendancy of a particular class in the state is dated a series of measures, which plunge every other class in hopeless difficulties, and in the end prove fatal to the fortunes of the state. With the triumph of the moneyed Roman

* “And to corrupt, and be corrupted, is called the manners of the age.”—TACITUS, *de Moribus Germanorum*.

patricians, began the misery of the plebeians and the decline of the empire ; with the ascendancy of the English towns in the legislature, the most wide-spread suffering England has ever known.

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“——— I had hope
When violence had ceased, and War on earth,
All would have then gone well ; peace would have crown'd
With length of happy days the race of man :
But I was far deceived ; for now I see
Peace to corrupt no less than war to waste.”*

Amidst war are to be seen the ravaged field and the sacked city, the slaughtered multitude and famished group, the tear of the widow and the groans of the fatherless ; but amidst all that scene of unutterable woe, the generous and noble affections often acquire extraordinary force. Selfishness gives place to patriotism, cupidity to disinterestedness, luxury to self-denial, and heroic virtue arises out of the extremity of suffering. Even the poignancy of individual distress is alleviated by the numbers who simultaneously share it. Misery ceases to be overwhelming when it is no longer solitary ; individual loss is drowned in the feeling of common sympathy. Peace may give men a larger share of the enjoyments and comforts of this world, but war often renders them fitter for a future state of existence ; and it is by the alternation of both that they are best fitted for the duties of the one, and the destiny of the other.

Whoever has surveyed, either in the annals of mankind or in the observation of society around him, the effects of peace, opulence, and long-continued prosperity upon human character, and the heroic virtues which are called forth in mankind by the arrival of times pregnant with disaster and alarm, will probably have little doubt of the truth of these observations. But they are demonstrated in a way that must bring conviction home to the most incredulous, by the result of the wars of the French

75.
Striking
example of
this which
the history
of the Re-
volutionary
war affords.

* *Paradise Lost*, xi. 780.

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Revolution. At the commencement of the period, selfishness, irresolution, and cupidity distinguished all the measures of cabinets ; languor, inertness, and proneness to delusion, characterised the people : mildness and toleration were daily becoming more prevalent in the administration of government ; and a general pacific spirit characterised the age. Thence it was that Gibbon then lamented that the world would never again see the vast convulsions, the moving incidents which had occurred in ancient times, and which furnished so many subjects for the immortal historic pencils of Greece and Rome. But amidst all this seeming philanthropy and happiness, selfishness, that grand source of human corruption, was daily extending its influence through every rank ; and the human mind, enervated by repose, was losing its manly virtues amidst the unbroken spread of enjoyments. We may judge of the subtle poison which was then debasing European society, and especially the boasted centre of its civilisation in France, from the corresponding evils which we now, from a similar cause, see around us. And the effect of it appeared in the clearest manner in the measures alike of government and the people over all Europe ; for self-aggrandisement and selfishness characterised them all.

76.

Universal
selfishness
at the com-
mencement
of the
French Re-
volution.

The selfishness of the French aristocracy first induced the evils which brought about the Revolution ; the selfishness of the privileged classes postponed till it was too late that equalisation of public burdens which might have averted its evils ; the selfishness of the Church impeded that just and beneficent spread of religious institutions, which could alone have combated its horrors. Nor was the influence of the same evil principle less evident in the conduct of all the nations who were successively called into the field to combat the powers of wickedness. Great Britain, from a selfish passion for economy in her people, was in the beginning powerless at land to maintain the conflict : the forces she did put forth were wasted in the

prosecution of "British objects" at Dunkirk, when they might, by co-operating with the Allies, have marched to Paris, and crushed the hydra in its cradle. Prussia starved the war on the Rhine, and at length withdrew from the alliance, to prosecute her schemes of ambition, and secure her ill-gotten gains in Poland. Austria abandoned Flanders, the gate of Europe, to France, in order to concentrate her forces in Italy, and obtain in the spoliation of Venice a compensation for the surrender of Belgium. Russia halted her armies on the Vistula, and stained her standards by the massacre at Warsaw, when they might have been ennobled by the capture of Paris. In all these instances, each of which singly was attended with disastrous effects to the cause of freedom, and which, taken together, induced unheard-of calamities, it was the selfish interest of the different classes of society or nations who were successively called on to make sacrifices for the public good, which was the secret spring that induced the evil. And such is ever the tendency of man in prosperous and pacific times.

Turn now to the deeds of heroism and disinterestedness which have for ever signalised the annals of the French Revolution, and say whether or not it is good for nations, as well as individuals, to be in affliction. Where was the selfishness of the French nobility when they were led out to the scaffold by the Jacobins? where the corruptions of the court, when Louis XVI. was immured in the Temple? Can the annals of humanity boast more glorious deeds of devotion, heroism, and magnanimity, than were exhibited even by the corrupted circles of Paris during the Reign of Terror, or by the clergy of France, both dignified and rural, in the days of their suffering? What would the democratic party over the world give to be able to tear the deathless pages of la Vendée out of the volumes of history? The selfishness of Prussia, punished by the disaster of Jena and six years of bondage, was gloriously expiated by the resurrection of 1813 and the

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67.
Noble and
generous
deeds of all
classes and
nations dur-
ing the war.

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triumph of the Katzbach ; the ambition of Russia by the carnage of Borodino and the devotion of Leipsic. Can peace, with all its charities, produce so sublime an instance of generous spirit as that which fired the torches of Moscow ? or so illustrious an example of patriotic fervour as manned the ramparts of Saragossa ? Well might the Jacobins call their dread instrument “ the holy guillotine : ” for what sublime virtues has it brought to light !

78.
Examples
of this even
in the most
selfish na-
tions.

Even nations the most calculating, and empires the most stable, caught the generous flame, and were in the end dignified by deeds of heroism, to which nothing superior is to be found in the annals of mankind. Who could recognise the tenacious rule of the Austrian aristocracy in the devotion of Aspern, or the money-seeking German mountaineer in the enthusiasm of the Tyrol ? If Great Britain blasted the prospects of European deliverance by the niggardly parsimony of former times, which paralysed her efforts in the commencement of the war, and the selfish direction which she so long gave to her efforts, she washed out her national sins by suffering ; and the annals of the world cannot present so glorious an example of generous ardour and persevering constancy, as was exhibited by all classes in the British islands before its termination. Thus, while the subtle poison of human corruption spreads with fatal rapidity during the tranquillity and enjoyment of peace, the manly feelings, the generous affections, are nursed amidst the tumult and horrors of war. And although the actual agents in it may become habituated to bloodshed and rapine, a compensation, and more than a compensation, arises in the noble and disinterested feelings which are often generally drawn forth in the community. Perpetual war would transform men into beasts of prey—perpetual peace reduce them to beasts of burden : the alternation of both is indispensable to the mixed tendencies to good and evil which exist in mankind. Mutual slaughter may be dis-

pensed with when the seeds of corruption are extirpated from the human breast, but not till then.

It is observed by Montesquieu, that the great peculiarity of the physical conformation of Asia is, that the steppes or deserts, which must for ever form the abode only of pastoral nations, are brought into close proximity with the alluvial plains, which speedily become the scenes of agricultural riches and the abode of commercial opulence; and that this is the true reason of the violent revolutions, not merely of dynasties but of empires, which in every age have distinguished the history of that great portion of the globe. There can be no doubt that the observation is well founded; and it may be added, that another peculiarity, not less important, is to be found in the vast extent of those pastoral districts, and the consequent facility of transporting large bodies of men from one part of the continent to another, how distant soever. The nomad race, wandering with their flocks and herds over boundless places covered with grass, meet with no impediment to their progress from the banks of the Amour to those of the Volga. Life is spent in travelling: continents are almost unconsciously traversed in the search of daily food. Subsistence is everywhere found, for it lies beneath their feet. This circumstance at once provides for the easy dispersion of the pastoral tribes of mankind, even from the confines of China to the shores of the Atlantic, in early ages, and the occasional accumulation of their armed forces, under popular leaders, at later times, in such multitudes, and animated with such fervour, as to be altogether irresistible. And at the same time it perpetually preserves, at the very edge of civilisation, an armed force, an energetic will, capable, when its action is required, of regenerating, by subduing, their richer and therefore more corrupted neighbours.

Europe and America, again, have an entirely different physical conformation. No arid deserts there retain the children of Japhet in every successive generation in the

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79.
Remarkable
physical
conforma-
tion of Asia.

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80.
Its differ-
ence from
Europe and
America.

rude habits and mingled virtues and vices of their fathers : no table-lands or boundless steppes bring the warriors of the desert into close proximity with the cities of the plain, or the riches and vices of civilisation. The level face of the greater part of the country renders it susceptible of the labour of agriculture ; mineral riches at once invite and reward the toils of the artisan : the deep indentations of the coast, and numerous inland seas, let in, to the very heart of the continents, the wealth and interests of commerce. The savage exists, but he is only the feeble and isolated hunter of the forest, who flies and perishes before the advance of civilisation. External danger, therefore, is comparatively unknown : the riches of civilisation need no longer fear the rapine of the desert ; the contests of nations lead only to mutual improvement in the military art, and a more decided superiority over the other families of mankind. Boundless facilities for the multiplication and extension of this race are afforded ; and the race of Japhet can securely perform its destined mission of overspreading and subduing the earth. The forest impedes the migration of them in early, the labours of agriculture, or the arts, retain them in their homes, in later times. But Providence had not been unmindful of the necessity of regeneration by suffering, which for ever attaches to the corrupt nature of man. Contests are provided ; the means of restoring energy, of combating selfishness, are prepared. But they are suited to the stationary abode, and yet advancing civilisation of the species. They are found not in the horrors of foreign conquest, but the vehemence of internal contention ; they spring not from the passions of the tent, but those of the forum.

It was not without a deep and prophetic insight into the future progress of the species, that this different conformation was given to the Asiatic and European continents. Had the case been reversed—had European industry and civilisation existed close to the Asiatic

steppes, and Asiatic wealth and corruption been sheltered from invasion by the European or American forests, the progress of the species would have been rendered impossible. The expansive energy and enduring constancy of the race of Japhet would have been swept away ere they acquired strength by the sabres of the children of Shem; the guilty capitals of Babylon and Nineveh would have permanently debased the race of men by their pleasures and effeminacy. But the foreseeing wisdom of Providence had provided, anterior to the creation of man, not only the seats for his species, but the necessary means of correcting its vices. The energy of the desert for ever stands in the midst of Asiatic opulence, to punish at the appointed season its corruptions, and regenerate its possessors by the infusion of hardy blood: the energy of democracy for ever dwells in the bosom of European society, to purify its vices in the school of suffering, and diffuse its powerful off-shoots through the remotest regions of the earth. The means of rapid and general migration are given to the first in the infancy, to the latter in the maturity of civilisation: to the former, the steppe, the camel, the Arab steed—to the latter, the sail, the ocean, the steam-ship. The migratory passions spring up at the same periods: in the East they were coeval with Abraham—in the West they acquired their full intensity in that of Watt.

Historians in all ages have exerted their powers in painting the dreadful devastations produced by the periodical irruptions of the Tartar tribes into the smiling plains of southern Asia; the pyramids of heads which marked where their sabres had been, and the sack, conflagration, and ruin, which have ever attended their footsteps. But, admitting the terrible nature of the whirlwinds which have thus passed over the earth, it is the height of error to consider them as pernicious in their *ultimate* effects. They resemble the tempest, which is often necessary to restore the purity of the physical atmosphere,

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81.

Final cause
of the differ-
ent con-
formation of
the Asiatic
and Euro-
pean conti-
nents.

82.

Effects of
this differ-
ence in the
continual
regeneration
of the
Asiatic
states.

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of the wintry storms which clear away the decayed riches of summer vegetation ; and, accordingly, it was ever under the powerful though transient vigour of northern dynasties that society under the Asiatic rule has risen to greatness, or passing felicity been communicated to mankind. All its great nations—the Medes, the Persians, the Assyrians, the Parthians, the Monguls—have sprung from the intermixture of barbarian energy with civilised opulence ; and when greatness had corrupted even the majesty of Rome, “ the giants of the north,” in Gibbon’s words, “ broke in and amended the puny breed.”

83.
Which was
unneces-
sary in
Europe and
America,
from the
internal
effects of
the demo-
cratic prin-
ciple.

Either a physical or moral regeneration seems necessary in the later stages of civilised life in all countries ; if no means for producing the former, from internal energy or virtue, exist, the latter is necessary. And the reflecting observer, who has witnessed the innumerable corruptions which have followed in the wake of riches and long-established civilisation, even with all the means of combating them which a purer religion and the free spirit of Europe have afforded in modern times, will probably hesitate to characterise even the inroads of Timour or Genghis Khan as unmixed evil, and doubt whether they are not the severe but necessary means of purifying and reforming mankind, when corrupted by the vices of a society which has no salient and living principle of energy within its own bosom. It is the existence of this spirit which essentially distinguishes, and has ever distinguished, European from Asiatic society, and perhaps rendered unnecessary, and certainly less frequent, in the nations of its family, the awful catastrophes which have always in the East preceded the regeneration of nations. Europe has, and has ever had, its commotions, and often have they terminated in bloodshed, devastation, and ruin. But they have in general proceeded, not from external conquest, but internal energy ; the moving principle which has occasioned them has been not the lust of foreign rapine, but the passion for internal power.

The annals of the French Revolution, and the wars to which it has given rise in Europe, may well suggest a doubt whether the latter principle is not sometimes productive, at the time, of devastation as widespread, and misery as acute, as the most terrible inroads of barbarian power. But the effect of it has been to revive the energy of the species from the restoration of internal strength, not the infusion of extraneous valour; and it brings hardy poverty into action, not from the fields of northern conquest, but from the workshop of laborious industry. Whoever has studied the working of the democratic principle in human affairs cannot entertain a doubt that, with whatever evils it may be followed when it acquires the mastery of the other interests of society, it is at least attended with this important effect—that it produces a degree of energy in all classes, while it subsists in vigour and is duly coerced, to which there is nothing comparable under other forms of government; and that it infuses the elements of strength and vitality into the social system, to such a degree as to prolong, to a period much beyond that assigned to it in ancient times, the life of nations.

But it is not only by its effect upon the social system within the state, that democracy is one of the most important elements which works out the progress of the moral world and general government of Providence. Consequences equally important, and still more lasting in their effects, flow from its tendency to produce the dispersion of mankind. It is in truth the great *expansive power* of nature. Under various forms, it has produced the chief migrations and settlements which have occurred in the history of the species. The Cimbri, the Celts, and the Goths, who at successive periods, commencing with the first dawn of authentic profane history, spread from central Asia to the furthest extremities of Europe, were impelled from their native seats by this insatiable passion. Equality appeared even in the days of Tacitus in the

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84.

Illustration
of this
which the
history of
the French
Revolution
affords, de-
spite all its
attendant
suffering.

85.

Democracy
is the great
moving
power
among
mankind.

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woods of Germany ; and the free spirit of our Gothic ancestors has produced the whole peculiar features and glories of modern society. In Southern Europe it has appeared in a different but not less important character. Spreading there, not from the energy of the desert, but the turbulence of the forum, it diffused the republican colonies of Greece, Tyre, and Carthage over the whole shores of the Mediterranean. Rome itself sprang in its infancy from emigrants ; enterprise was nourished in its maturity by colonial wealth ; and its extension around the shores of that inland sea, clearly demonstrates from what element the strength of the empire had been derived.

86.
And the
principal
cause of the
dispersion
of the hu-
man race.

In modern times the marvels of this expansive power have been not less conspicuous. From the republics of Genoa and Venice, the democratic spirit again penetrated, with their mercantile establishments, as far as the waters of the Mediterranean extend ; from the shores of Holland it drove an industrious brood into the Eastern archipelago ; with the fervour of the Puritans, it planted the Anglo-Saxon race in a new hemisphere ; in the wilds of America, it unceasingly impels the hardy woodsman into the solitudes of the Far West. England itself is now in the midst of a similar parturition. Amidst the mingled wealth and misery, glory and shame, hope and disappointment of the last fifteen years, above a hundred thousand active citizens have annually migrated from the British isles to the western or southern hemispheres.* Their numbers,

* Emigrants from British isles :—

1839,	.	.	.	.	62,207
1840,	.	.	.	.	90,743
1841,	.	.	.	.	118,592
1842,	.	.	.	.	128,344
1843,	.	.	.	.	57,212
1844,	.	.	.	.	70,686
1845,	.	.	.	.	93,501
1846,	.	.	.	.	129,851
1847,	.	.	.	.	258,461
1848,	.	.	.	.	248,592

—PORTER'S *Parl. Tables*, and *Parl. Return*, 28th July 1849.

amidst the disastrous changes which began in 1846, have come to exceed two hundred and fifty thousand annually. Attempted political regeneration, producing terror in some classes, disappointment in others, restlessness in all, has greatly strengthened this inherent tendency ; and the augmented vehemence of the democratic action in the heart of the empire has uniformly appeared in an enlarged stream of ardent emigrants, which it has sent forth to people the distant places of the earth. Great Britain may well be in travail ; for a new world is springing from her loins.

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1815.

The manner in which the democratic spirit brings about this transplantation of the human race is very apparent. It is the combination of visions of perfectibility with realities of degradation, which effects the object. The mind, warmed by boundless anticipations of elevation and improvement to be effected by social or political innovation, feels insupportable disappointment at the failure of its long-cherished projects, and the increasing indigence and profligacy of the great body of mankind, amidst all the efforts made for their elevation. In disgust, numbers leave the abode of ancient corruption, and seek the realisation of their visions amidst the supposed innocence of early society, and the real advantages of plentiful employment. A general passion for change seizes all classes ; and such anticipations are formed, and often realised, of the advantage to be derived from a change of situation, as effectually extinguishes in great numbers the love of home, in other circumstances one of the strongest affections of the human heart. It is this principle which, in every age, has prompted civilised men to forego all the pleasures of home and kindred, to sever all the bonds of filial or patriotic love, and seek in distant lands those means of elevation which the contracted sphere of their native seats will not afford. The love of power, the desire of distinction, the passion for wealth, envy of superiors, jealousy of equals, contempt of inferiors,

87.
Manner in
which this
change is
effected.

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1815.

combine, in these circumstances, to raise such a tempest in the human breast, as roots man up from his native seats, obliterates his oldest recollections, extinguishes his strongest attachments, and sends forth the burning enthusiast, ardent for the equality of rights and the regeneration of society, into distant lands—where his expectations are too often blasted by the stern realities of his new situation, but from whence return is impossible—where he plants his seed in the soil, and leaves behind him in the wilderness the foundation of an extended and prosperous society.¹

¹ Alison on
Population,
i. 31.

88.
Aristocracy
is the con-
trolling and
regulating
power.

As democracy and the lust of conquest are the moving, so aristocracy and attachment to property are the steady-ing powers of nature. Without some counterbalancing weight to restrain and regulate the violence of this expansive force—this moral steam-power—it would tear society in pieces, and counteract by its explosion the whole ends of the social union. This counteracting weight is found in the influence of property, and the desires with which it is attended. The habits it induces, the foresight and self-denial which it awakens, the local attachments to which it gives rise, constitute the regulating weight of nature, and the great counterpoise to the moving power of democracy. It is in the moral, what the weight of the superincumbent ocean is to the expansive power of central heat in the physical world. Society appears in its most favourable form, the progress of improvement is swiftest, the steps of the human race are the greatest, when the energy of the moving and expanding is duly regulated by the steadying and controlling power. To restrain it altogether is often impossible, always pernicious; to give it free scope is to expose society to ruin, and defeat the very objects for which this restless desire was implanted in the human breast. Its due direction and effectual regulation is the great desideratum.

At particular periods, and by a mysterious agency, extraordinary force is communicated to the moving power.

A desire for change becomes universal ; old and important interests are overthrown ; society at home is convulsed ; the human race is violently impelled abroad, either in the channels of pacific colonisation or the inroads of ruthless conquest ; and, in a short time, a vast change in the condition and destinies of mankind is effected. But such violent ebullitions are generally of short duration. The explosion of revolution, though often as devastating in its course, is as brief in its endurance as the eruption of the volcano ; and the central heat, according as it is, or is not, regulated by the direction of property, and restrained by the principles of religion, becomes the beneficent central force which impels light and civilisation to the desert places of the earth, or the source of the fiery lava, which, after consuming whatever it has touched, is itself cooled down by external influence, and leaves a track which can be discerned only by the foul devastation which it has made.

As these opposing forces are the great agents, the counteracting forces which regulate the general progress of mankind, so their influence is not less important and conspicuous in the bosom of every separate society. Save in the Asiatic communities, where everything has been from time immemorial by universal consent referred to the will of one man, they have generally in every age more or less distracted the different families of men. The internal dissensions, whether religious or civil, which for the last three centuries have so frequently disturbed European society, and often by their violence produced the most dreadful calamities, have been nothing but the conflict, under different forms, and sometimes different banners, of these antagonist principles. The theory of a balance of power in the state, and of the different interests of society mutually checking and counteracting each other, so specious in theory, so inestimable in practice, is nothing but the attempt to methodise and reduce to a bloodless system of hostility this ceaseless conflict of thought and interests.

CHAP.
XCVI.

1815.

89.

Violent
occasional
explosions
of the de-
mocratic
spirit.

90.

Ceaseless
agency of
those coun-
teracting
forces in
separate
societies.

CHAP.
XCVI.

1815.

Various methods have been devised for this purpose, which in some instances have for a season, generally brief, been attended with success. But time has proved fatal to them all. Universally it has been found impracticable to preserve the balance through a series of ages. A prolonged drawn battle is impossible. Either the expansive force has been crushed under the superincumbent weight of property, or its rights have been set at naught by the vehement desires and incessant aggression of an ambitious democracy. In either case the result is the same—the weakening of the vital principle, and final extinction of the life of nations.

91.
Transfer-
ence of this
contest to
the consti-
tution of
representa-
tive assem-
blies.

Since the representative system has been generally adopted in the free states of the modern world, and it has been found that supreme power is practically vested in a majority of its members, the contest of the opposing power has been mainly carried on in the efforts made to obtain the nomination of such a majority. Once that vantage-ground is gained, it is easily seen all the rest is a comparatively easy acquisition. The old English constitution, by means of its varied representation, preserved the seeming balance longer than any other which has yet arisen among men. But in reality it was the government of property, veiled under popular forms, and watched by a vigilant and fearless democracy. The counties and rural boroughs secured the influence of landed estates; the close and venal let in by purchase the interests of colonies and commercial wealth; a few safety-valves were preserved in the seats for great cities, for the noisy and ambitious multitude. But since a uniform system of representation has been established by the revolution of 1832, and the great increase of mercantile wealth from the long continuance of peace, this balance has been entirely subverted.

This appears in the clearest manner in the direction which legislation has taken since that event. Indirect taxation, which reaches all, has been to a great extent

abandoned, and direct, levied entirely from a comparatively small number, substituted in its place ; colonial property has been destroyed as by the scythe of revolution in the West Indies ; and under the specious name of free trade, the bond which held together the varied parts of the empire has been dissolved by the general abandonment of protection to domestic industry in all its parts. This all flowed from supreme power being vested in a million of electors wholly confined to the British islands, three-fifths of whom were represented by borough members. In France, on the other hand, where supreme power has been, since the Restoration, under every dynasty, confined, from the experience of a revolution, to less than one hundred and fifty thousand electors, the bulwarks of general liberty have been practically destroyed, and the government has become the despotic agent of an urban oligarchy, the great object of which is the preservation of property. In the one country, the legislature from its wide basis has become the expression of the general wish of the urban consumers ; in the other, from its narrow, of the urban producers. In both, all considerations of the general interest have been lost sight of in the rule of a particular class in whom supreme power had become practically vested. And this affords another illustration of the truth of Sir James Mackintosh's observation, that a uniform representation is but another name for class government ; and that under such a system, the inevitable result in an old community is, that the scattered and tranquil rural electors fall under the management, or are overcome by the activity of the concentrated and wealthy urban ones.¹

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XCVI.

1815.

92.

Example of
this effect
in the Bri-
tish legisla-
tion since
1832, and
France
since 1830.

¹ Mackin-
tosh's
Essays, ii.

The Roman constitution in early times, which gave all the people votes, but that only in separate centuries, in which they were classed according to their respective contributions to the public service, is perhaps the nearest approach which human wisdom has ever made to a just and perfect system of representation. It combined the

93.

What is the
true system
of represen-
tative gov-
ernment.

CHAP.
XCVI.

1815.

two great objects of constitutional government, the representation of numbers and property. Accordingly, like every other institution which imposes an effectual restraint on human ambition, it became the object of vehement and impassioned hostility. The multitude who desired to reduce government to a mere question of numerical majority never ceased to assail it, till by the introduction of voting by tribes—that is, by head without any regard to property—they had acquired the practical government of the state, and brought in Marius and Cæsar as their leaders, and the unintended instruments of their punishment. Nevertheless it was founded on the free principle of constitutional government, that supreme power should be vested in the combined representation of property and numbers, and the hostility to it arose from that very cause.

94.
Not universal but equal
suffrage is
the real
evil.

Universal suffrage is not the greatest evil in society, nor the most to be dreaded. On the contrary, there is much to be said, on principle, in its favour; for as nearly all contribute something to the public service, all have a fair claim to some share in its government. It is *equality* of suffrage which is the real leveller and destroyer of society. The principle should be constantly inculcated, that political influence should be enjoyed in proportion to every one's contribution to the public service. The poor man who contributes his share of the indirect taxes by spending thirty pounds a-year has a fair claim to a vote; but he has no claim to *as many votes* as the merchant who makes three, or the nobleman who spends thirty thousand a-year. A system of representation which should give every male above twenty-one, not a pauper, a vote, and gives in addition a vote to every man possessing more than thirty pounds a-year, for every pound of direct taxes he paid, would satisfy the just demands of the poor, and, probably, not endanger the property of the rich. But on that very account it is not likely ever to be advocated by either of the parties which

divide society, and, if established, is certain, from the just restraint it would impose on the selfish desires of both, to be of very brief endurance.

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1815.

The external balance of nature in the physical world is almost entirely preserved by the counteracting impulse of opposite forces, either acting simultaneously, or mutually succeeding when their separate agency is required. It is the same in the moral world : action and reaction is the universal law of human affairs, and the chief instrument of the divine government of men. In the Asiatic empires, as there is no internal spring giving rise to this alternation, it is provided for by foreign conquests. In Europe, at least in modern times, the source of it is found in the prevailing impulse, which, under opposite circumstances, is communicated to different classes of mankind. The provision made for this in the original constitution of man consists in two principles, which will be found to be of universal application—viz. that the great bulk of men blindly follow any impulse which is communicated to them by minds of superior intelligence, or the force of individual interest ; and that really original thinkers, the lights of their own, the rulers of the next age, almost invariably exert their powers in direct *opposition* to the prevailing evils with which they are surrounded.

95.
Constant
action and
reaction in
the Euro-
pean com-
munities.

Hence it is that the strong intellects in a despotic community are almost always loud in praise of popular institutions and the principles of self-government, and those in democratic states equally decided in support of the principles of order and the control of property ; that freedom of opinion constituted the grand deliverance for which the religious Reformers of the sixteenth century contended ; and unity of religious faith has become the object of devout aspiration in the nineteenth. The reason is obvious. Creative minds in both periods were impressed with the evils with which they were brought in contact ; and in both, instead of yielding, strove to counteract them.

96.
Great
effects it
produces.

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XCVI.

1815.

The great majority in every age go with the stream, and flatter themselves they are enlightened when they are merely impregnated with the mental atmosphere with which they are surrounded. The reflecting few at once break off from the multitude, and, for good or for evil, think for themselves, and in the end give a new direction to the current of thought. A generation must, in general, descend to its grave before the conversion takes place : but, though slow, the effect is not the less certain. "Show me what one or two great men in the solitude of their chambers are thinking in this age, and I will show you what will be the theme of the orator, the vision of the poet, the staple of the hustings, the declamation of the press, the guide of the statesman, in the next."

97.
Example of
this from
the Refor-
mation.

The two great convulsions of modern times, the religious Reformation and French Revolution, demonstrate in the clearest manner the agency of the opposite powers of action and reaction on general thought, and, through it, on the fate of nations. When the Roman Catholic church, strong in the consciousness of universal power, and tainted by the belief of supposed infallibility, revolted the growing intelligence of mankind by the open prostitution and sale of indulgences, the giant strength of Luther arose, and, Samson-like, threw down the pillars of the corrupted edifice. The Protestant nations fondly anticipated the total destruction of the papal power from the shock, and the rapid progress of the Reformation at its commencement seemed in a great measure to justify the expectation. But human passion and ambition, as usual in such cases, got possession of the stream. Crimes and violence were committed by the popular party ; extravagance deformed, dissension weakened their cause : intellect and interest combined their efforts to resist it ; the torrent was rolled back in southern Europe as rapidly as it had advanced ; and, for two subsequent centuries, the frontiers of the opposite opinions have been observed in northern Chris-

tendom, without any sensible advantage being gained on either side.*

The abuses of the Romish church, the selfishness of the noblesse, the extravagance of the monarchy, induced, in a subsequent age, the terrible convulsion of the French Revolution. The force of genius, the powers of intellect, the weapons of ridicule, were directed for half a century to the emancipation of thought; and an interminable era of progress and felicity was anticipated, from the liberation of mankind from the fetters which had hitherto restrained and directed them. Here again, however, human wickedness soon obtained the mastery of the current. Selfishness, ambition, rapacity, veiled under the successive names of liberty, patriotism, and glory, directed the movement: Europe was deluged with blood; the original devil was expelled, but straightway he returned with seven other devils more wicked than himself, and the last state of that nation was worse than the first. Humanity sank and wept in silence, philanthropy trembled for the prospects of the race during that long night of suffering; but all this time the salient energy of thought was unceasingly in activity. Reaction arose out of suffering, heroism out of calamity; and the successive overthrow of the democracy of France and the power of Napoleon has afforded an eternal monument, at once of the justice of the divine administration, and the system in human affairs by which, through the acts of free agents, the mighty deliverance was accomplished.

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes was the chief remote cause of the French Revolution; and the terrible evils it brought upon the nobility and the government, the natural consequence and just retribution of that atrocious act of religious oppression. Though the overthrow of the aristocracy was the grand object, when the contest was fairly engaged, to which the popular efforts

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XCVI.

1815.

98.
And the
French Re-
volution.

99.
The revoca-
tion of the
Edict of
Nantes was
the remote
cause of the
French Re-
volution.

* See RANKE'S *History of the Popes*, and Macaulay's able Review of it, (*Miscellaneous Essays*.)

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1815.

were turned, it was not there that the revolutionary passion commenced, nor was it to a liberation from temporal restraints that the first advances of thought were directed. It was spiritual dominion which was the real incubus sought to be thrown off; it was the fetters of the church which intellect strove to strike from the human soul. In the writings of Voltaire, there is little to be found on change of institutions, amendment of laws, the blessings of self-government; but much on spiritual tyranny, the arts of priests, the benightment of superstition. Even Rousseau was not a political reformer; his visions of perfectibility and the social contract had no practical bearing on existing institutions; it was still the chains of the Roman Catholic church which he endeavoured to remove, by the antagonist principle of original and primeval innocence.

100.

Because
it ranged
the power
of intellect
on the other
side.

Whence was it that these giants of thought so vehemently directed their efforts against a religion which in England had so long been supported by the greatest and most profound intellects? Simply because the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, while it sent five hundred thousand innocent citizens into exile, had removed all restraint on the established church in France; because spiritual tyranny had in consequence become insupportable, and spiritual intolerance universal; because religion, confident in the support of government, had disdained the aid of intellect: and patrician selfishness, engrossed with self-aggrandisement, had seized upon the church as its own appanage, instead of the patrimony of the poor. These evils not only were the principal circumstances which originally stirred up the mental ferment which brought about the Revolution, but they paralysed the only power which could successfully combat it; for they deprived order of the aid of principle, religion of the support of mind, and the poor of the only bond which could unite them with property.

The ultimate danger which threatens France, and every

country that embraces revolutionary principles, is the annihilation of the only elements out of which a durable free constitution can be constructed. Little as this peril may be considered by the popular party in the days of their success, it is by far the most durable evil with which they have to contend; and it may safely be affirmed that their complete triumph renders it irremediable. It is this which has rendered the formation of a free constitution impossible in that great country, and blasted the whole objects for which the popular party so long and strenuously contended. There are but two ways by which mankind in the long run can be governed—by the influence of property, or the will of a sovereign: the third method, so much the object of desire to the advocates of democracy all the world over, viz.—by self-government, is soon found to be impracticable. The difficulty which proves fatal to it is the impossibility of getting proper functionaries elected by the multitude, and the ungovernable passions which spring up in the human heart with the enjoyment of uncontrolled power. But if property has been destroyed by previous convulsions, and the influence of aristocracy in consequence is at an end, there remains no alternative but the appointment to all offices, and the entire direction of affairs, by the executive. This was what took place in Rome from the destruction of the old patricians during the civil wars of Sylla and Marius, and in France from the confiscations of the Revolution; and, accordingly, the frame of subsequent government which necessity imposed upon both these countries has been extremely similar, and has remained unaltered through every subsequent change of dynasty. The institutions of the Roman Emperors are substantially the same as those of Napoleon's government; and the great body of the French people, since the termination of democratic rule in 1795, have never, except during the weakness of the Restoration, or a few hours of the revolt of the Barricades, enjoyed a larger practical direction of affairs than the

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XCVI.

1815.

101.
Ultimate
danger
which
threatens
to destroy
this vital
principle.

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1815.

populace did in ancient times in the Byzantine empire. The establishment of universal suffrage, by the Revolution of 1848, will make in the end no real difference : the votes of the country will be directed by the thought of the towns.

102.
Substitu-
tion of gov-
ernment of
function-
aries for
that of prop-
erty.

The consequences flowing from the substitution of the government of functionaries for that of property, deserve the serious consideration of every reflecting mind ; because it is the evident issue in which the revolutionary fervour of modern Europe is to terminate. Experience has now abundantly proved, what reason *à priori* might have anticipated, that the unavoidable effect of the overthrow of the influence of property is, after a brief period, during which the theory of self-government is weighed in the balance and found wanting, to establish universally the system of government functionaries. That this system is productive of a much more regular and orderly, and, in some respects, beneficial administration, than any modification of popular election, is evident from this consideration, that all nations have taken refuge in it, after a short experience of the evils of real self-government. But it is by no means equally apparent that it is as favourable to the development of mental energy, or the training of the human mind to its highest character or its noblest duties.

103.
Advantages
and evils of
the former
system.

Government functionaries are all stamped with one image and superscription : they all move, like automata, by the direction of one hand. Original thought, independence of character, are unknown among them. Government is ever jealous of genius ; “for, if weak, it is a power which it fears ; if strong, a liberty which it dislikes.” * That such public servants are, in general, in the highest degree useful, nay, that they are often more serviceable in their several departments than those whose more lofty qualifications render them less manageable,

* CHATEAUBRIAND, *Etudes Hist.* i. 166 ; *Œuvres*, ii. 166.

may at once be admitted. But what is the destiny of a nation which has the easy meshes of a vast net of government functionaries thrown around it, and in which original thought in all departments is chilled, if not extinguished, by the certainty of neglect? Prussia and France—in the former of which monarchies the whole system, not merely of government, but of education, both civil and religious, is in the hands of the *employés* of administration; while in the latter, a hundred and thirty-eight thousand civil functionaries, appointed by the Tuileries, carry on the whole internal direction of the state,¹—may convince us how vast a machine for the government of mankind is provided in such a state of society; and how inextricable may be the fetters of a despotism which, instead of opposing the spread of education or injuring the security of property, carefully supports the former and maintains the latter, and strives only to confine the attention of the people to their private affairs, by at once guiding their thoughts and attending to their interests.

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XCVI.

1815.

¹ Tocq. i.
209.

Good government depends upon the due intermixture, in public functionaries, of government appointment, aristocratic influence, and popular control. Irreparable evil is only to be apprehended when one of these interests has destroyed the others: for so long as the interests remain entire, they will, in the end, force their way into a due share in the direction of affairs. But when, by the triumph of democracy, the aristocracy is destroyed, or by the victory of aristocracy the democracy is overthrown, or by the dexterity of the crown both are debased, the balance essential to good government is at an end, and it becomes impossible to preserve the equipoise of freedom. It is by the destruction of the property of the aristocracy, and consequent ruin of their influence, either by actual violence or the pacific working of equal succession, that this lamentable change is most certainly effected; and accordingly Montesquieu long ago observed, that the

104.
Irreparable
evil is only
to be dread-
ed when
one interest
has destroy-
ed the
others.

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1815.

most durable and debasing despotisms recorded in history, have arisen upon the succeeding of a monarch to a successful revolution.* Hence it is that democratic ambition—the most keen and searching element which is known in society, productive of so much good when duly coerced, of such irreparable evil when unrestrained—will ever be the object of such jealousy and apprehension to the real friends of liberty. For in its triumphs the far-seeing mind anticipates the destruction of the very elements of freedom, and the enclosing the whole energies of the human mind in the inextricable fetters of a centralised despotism.

105.
Great sin of
the Reformation.

The great sin of the Reformation was the confiscation of so large a portion of the property of the church for the aggrandisement of temporal ambition, and the enriching of the nobility who had taken a part in the struggle. When that convulsion broke out, nearly a third of the whole landed estates in the countries which it embraced, was in the hands of the regular or parochial clergy of the Roman Catholic church. What a noble fund was this for the moral and religious instruction of the people, for the promulgation of truth, the healing of sickness, the relief of pauperism, the assuaging of suffering! Had it been kept together, and set apart for such sacred purposes, what incalculable and never-ending blessings would it have conferred upon society! Expanding and increasing with the growth of population, the augmentation of wealth, the swell of poverty, it would have kept the instruction and fortunes of the poor abreast of the progress and fortunes of society, hindered the poor from falling as an oppressive burden on the fruits of industry, and prevented, in a great measure, that fatal effect, so well known in Great Britain in subsequent times, of the national church falling behind the wants of the inhabitants, and a mass of

* “Il n’y a point d’autorité plus absolue que celle du prince qui succède à la République : car il se trouve avoir toute la puissance du peuple qui n’avoit pu se limiter lui-même.”—*De la Grandeur et Décadence des Romains*, chap. 15.

civilised heathenism arising in the very heart of a Christian land.

Almost all the social evils under which Great Britain is now labouring, may be traced to this fatal and most iniquitous spoliation, under the mask of religion, of the patrimony of the poor, on occasion of the Reformation. But for that robbery, the state would have been possessed of lands amply sufficient to have extended its religious instruction for any possible increase of the people ; to have superseded the necessity of any assessment for parochial relief, or general instruction ; and to have provided, without burdening any one, for the whole spiritual and temporal wants of the community. When we reflect on the magnitude of the injustice committed by the temporal nobility in the seizure at that period of so large a portion of the funds of the church, and observe how completely all the evils which now threaten the social system in Great Britain would have been obviated if that noble patrimony had still been preserved for the poor, it is impossible to avoid feeling that we too are subject to the same just dispensation which has doomed France to oriental slavery for the enormous sins of its Revolution ; and that, if our punishment is not equally severe, it is only because the confiscation of the Reformation was not so complete, nor the inroads on property so irretrievable.

The great sin of the French Revolution was the confiscation of the estates of the church and the aristocracy : it is that which has produced effects which can never be repaired. It is commonly said, indeed, in regard to individual violence, that restitution can be made of property, but who can restore human life ? But the aphorism does not hold good in communities. Wasted life is repaired by the vivifying powers of nature, but divided property can never be restored. A new generation will supply the place of that which has been destroyed ; new smiles will arise on young cheeks, and banish the tears of for-

CHAP.
XCVI.

1815.

106.

Its lamentable effects.

107.

Great sin of
the French
Revolution.

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XCVI.

1815.

mer days. But who can replace ancient possessions alienated, colossal estates divided, old influences extinguished? The transference of property, and with it political influence, to a different class of society, supplants the old by new dominant powers; another balance is thus induced in the state, unalterable save by a fresh revolution. Power never yet was yielded up but to force. Had Cromwell confiscated the estates of the church and divided those of the nobility, the whole subsequent history of England would have been changed; for how could our tempered constitution have existed without political weight attached to property, and religious impressions prevalent among numbers? The great moral lesson to be deduced from every page of the French Revolution is, that the destruction of these classes by the early triumphs and unbridled excesses of the democratic party, has proved for ever fatal to the reconstruction of freedom, by destroying at once the moral influence which might supersede the necessity of despotism, and the balance of power which might restrain its excesses.

108.
Example
this affords
of moral re-
tribution.

This is but another example of the all-important truth, which a right consideration of history so uniformly demonstrates, that communities and nations are subject to moral laws; and that, although inconsiderable deviations from rectitude may be overlooked as unavoidable by humanity, yet outrageous sin and irreparable evil never fail to bring upon their authors, or their descendants, condign punishment even in this world. Individuals have souls to receive retribution in a future state of existence, but nations have no immortality; and that just retribution, which in the former case is often postponed, in appearance at least, to another world, in the latter is brought down with unerring certainty upon the third and fourth generation. How this mysterious system is worked out by Supreme Power, and yet the freedom of human action, and the entire moral responsibility of

each individual preserved, will never be fully understood in this world. Yet that there is no inconsistency between them is self-evident, for every one feels that he is free; and the history of every people, as well as the general progress of mankind, demonstrate the reality both of the moral retribution of nations, and the existence of a general system for the direction of human affairs. And without pretending entirely to solve the difficulty, the mystery of which, in all its parts, is probably beyond the reach of the human faculties, a very little consideration must be sufficient to show what in general is the system pursued, and how the divine superintendence is rendered perfectly reconcilable with justice to individual men and nations.

The method by which this mysterious system is carried into execution, and yet rendered consistent with the perfect freedom of human action, would appear to be this. The active propensities of men—that is, their desires and passions—are so calculated and adapted to the ever-varying current of human affairs, that in acting upon the whole in conformity with them, the individual free agents are made unconsciously to forward both the general plan of the divine administration, and the separate justice dealt out to particular men and nations. When Shakspeare put into the mouth of Lear the striking sentiment—

109.
Agency by
which this
administra-
tion of
affairs is
effected.

“ The gods are just, and of our pleasant vices
Make whips to scourge us ”—

he but expressed the conviction of mankind, founded alike upon observation and experience, that how agreeable and enticing soever the paths of sin may be in the outset, they terminate, alike to communities and individuals, in disappointment and ruin. Providence in the end is found to be just; and the early and often long-continued triumph of wickedness, is but the ordeal appointed for the trial and purification of virtue, and the

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XCVI.

1815.

110.
It is done
by the
agency of
the wicked
themselves.

preparation, in the very success of the unjust, for their final and deserved retribution.

And the means by which this dispensation is effected, is not the special interposition of the avenging angel, so much as the natural effect of the triumph of wickedness, in the indignation it excites, the misery it occasions, the reaction to which it gives rise. The laws of Providence, merciful to early or inconsiderable transgressions, have doomed signal wickedness, whether in individuals or nations, to ultimate and condign punishment ; and the reality of the existence of these laws may be clearly discerned in the calamitous consequences which invariably, in the end, attend any flagrant violation of the rules of virtue. But it is not the less apparent that the agents in this retribution are men themselves ; that it is in their feelings that the moving power in this vast and complicated machine is to be found : and that the long-continued delay which often takes place in the chastisement of the wicked, arises from the protracted period during which the reaction is preparing, in the increased suffering, enlarged experience or aroused indignation of mankind.

——“ In guisa tale

Dio gli eventi dispora,

Che serve al suo voler qui piu s'oppone.” *

111.
And its
consistency
with the
perfect free-
dom of will.

Nor is there anything in this agency inconsistent with the perfect freedom of human action, and the entire responsibility of every individual by whom it is conducted. There is a difficulty, doubtless, in discerning how a general system, at once of progress and retribution, is conducted by the voluntary acts of a multitude of detached individuals. But this is only one of the many instances in which the human intellect, with all its power, is shattered against the simplest cases of the agency of

* ——“ In such wise

God does the events dispose,

That they who most oppose, do work his will.”

METASTASIO'S *Giur. Ricono*. Part ii.

Supreme Mind upon terrestrial affairs. It is just as difficult to tell how a plant grows, or an infant is formed, or the vital spark communicated, or a stone falls to the ground, or the system of worlds coheres by the mutual attraction of an infinity of particles. And although each individual mind, in the vast system, is a free agent, yet is there nothing in the whole administration inconsistent with such unrestrained agency, or, in the general result, incompatible with the simultaneous operation of a multitude of actors. Every one feels that he is master of his own actions ; yet these actions upon the whole, and on an average of men, lead to certain known results ; and the great social functions connected with individual existence, the continuance of the species, the coherence of society, and the progress of the world, are securely provided for by the independent actings of an innumerable multitude of separate agents, each obeying the impulse of his active propensities, directed by his free choice. Moreau expressed a fact of general application, explained according to the irreligious ideas of the French Revolution, when he said, that " Providence was always on the side of dense battalions." But he forgot to add, what experience soon taught his country, that it is the moral laws of nature which, in the end, determine on which side the dense battalions are to be found.

No more striking instance is to be found of the manner in which the ultimate effects of the actions of men are made to deviate from, and sometimes defeat, the original intentions of their authors, than in the final result of the French Revolution upon the progress of the Christian faith. It was begun to throw off the fetters of the Roman Catholic religion, with which its deluded leaders confounded the whole precepts and doctrines of Christianity ; and its first triumphs were accordingly signalised by the entire confiscation of the property of the church, and overthrow of the institutions and even forms of religion in the whole of France. What were its final

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112.

Vast effect of
the French
Revolution
on the spread
of the Chris-
tian reli-
gion.

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1815.

effects on this the grand object of philosophic ambition, utilitarian industry, and Jacobin revenge? They were to give an impulse to Christianity, unknown since the days when it mounted with Constantine the throne of Rome; to diffuse its blessings over an extent unparalleled in any former age; to extend the gospel in a purer form, and under brighter auspices, over the remotest parts of the earth; and rear up two powers, each irresistible on its own element, whose forces, specially adapted to the theatres on which they were destined to act, have now given it an irresistible ascendancy in human affairs. Voltaire said, that "he was tired of hearing how twelve men had established the Christian religion, and he was resolved to show that one could pull it down;" but no man, since the days of the apostles, has done so much, without intending it, for its establishment and propagation, as Voltaire himself.

113.
Through
the extension of the
colonial empire of Eng-
land.

The great effect of the wars of the French Revolution was the aggrandisement of the colonial empire of England, and the territorial conquests of Russia. If we contemplate the manner in which, during the early years of the contest, the strength of England was paralysed by the miserable parsimony which had starved down its military and naval forces in former years, we may well feel astonishment at the blindness of the democratic principle which had occasioned so lamentable a result. But though this circumstance unquestionably protracted the war for eighteen years after it might have been otherwise terminated, and added at least six hundred millions to the national debt, its effect upon the extension of the British empire into the remote parts of the world was immense. During the course of this long-continued struggle, the colonies of all the European states successively fell into the hands of England; the British navy obtained a decisive supremacy in every sea, and British commerce gradually acquired an extension unparalleled in any former age of the world. The effect of this pro-

digious expansion, unobserved during the dangers and animation of the conflict, appeared in the most decisive manner on the termination of hostilities.

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1815.

British commerce, the object of jealous rivalry and anxious exclusion to all the Continental states, was forcibly turned into new channels, in spite of all the erroneous policy of government, which aimed, by the reciprocity system, and the delusion of free trade, at the extension of the markets of the old world. Colonisation, invigorated alike by the riches, the poverty, the virtues, the vices, the ambition and luxury, the enjoyments and sufferings of the mother country, went on with the steps of a giant; the great development of the democratic principle, consequent on a long course of pacific extensions, impelled the British race, in prodigious multitudes, alike into the western and the southern hemispheres; and above two hundred thousand emigrants* now annually leave the British islands, to carry into distant lands the power of European art and the blessings of Christian civilisation.† No such migration of mankind has taken place since the Goths and the Huns overthrew the Roman empire; no such step in the spread of civilisation and the diffusion of the gospel has been made since it first appeared on the shores of Palestine. To such marvellous and unforeseen results has an overruling Providence conducted the convulsions consequent on the scepticism of Voltaire, the changes emanating from the dreams of Rousseau!

114.
And the
increase of
emigration
from her.

* In the year 1841, the British emigrants amounted to 118,000.—*Lord Stanley's Speech, Feb. 9th, 1842, Parl. Deb.* In 1847 they reached the enormous number of 258,000, of whom 60,000 settled, almost all in comfortable circumstances, in Canada alone.—*Lords' Emigration Committee's Report, 1842*; and *Ante, Chap. xcv. § 85, note*, where the numbers are given.

† "Condit opes alius, defossoque incubat auro.

Hic stupet attonitus rostris : hunc plausus hiantem
Per cuneos germinatus enim plebis patrumque,
Corripuit. Gaudent perfusi sanguine fratrum,
Exiliique domos et dulcia limina mutant,
Atque alii patriam quærunt sub sole jacentem."

Georgics, ii. 508.

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XCVI.

1815.

115.
And the
conquests of
Russia.

But the British navy can reach only maritime shores; British colonisation can people only the desert or the forest, inhabited by the savage or the hunter. Great as its powers, when suffered to develop themselves, undoubtedly become, they have need of peace for their extension. England may call a new world into existence in the woods of America or the isles of Australasia; but pacific colonists would speedily perish under the sabre of the Tartar. Her descendants will never effect a settlement in the interior of Asia. But here, too, the efforts of irreligion have, without intending it, developed a power as irresistible at land as the British navy is at sea, and which, perfectly adapted to the element on which it was intended to prevail, has given to the arms of civilisation a decisive superiority in Asia over the forces of barbarism. The military strength of Russia, long restrained by the unwieldy extent of its empire, acquired a surprising extension during the wars of the French Revolution; but it was the invasion of Napoleon, the flames of Moscow, which gave it its full development. When the forces of the Revolution had reached the Kremlin, the last hour at once of European infidelity and Mahometan supremacy had struck.

116.

Which arose
from the in-
vasion of
Napoleon.

Rolled back with unheard-of rapidity from the Moskwa to the Seine, revolutionary power perished with the overthrow of its leader: overwhelmed by the might of civilised energy, the squadrons of the Crescent ere long fled before the soldiers of the Cross. Turkey and Persia now drag on a precarious dependent existence, solely at the pleasure of the Muscovite autocrat. Combated with its own weapons, pierced by its own lances, trod down by its own cavalry, the forces of Asia speedily recoil before the ascending might of Russia. Placed on the frontiers of Europe and Asia, this vast empire unites the forces of both hemispheres; for it has the solid infantry, military skill, and enduring valour of Europe, joined to the powerful multitudes, incomparable horse, and enthusiastic

daring of Asia. And both of these great powers, which have sprung up from the effects of the French Revolution, are in the clearest manner adapted to the giant task they are called to perform in the advance of mankind; for British democracy and colonisation could have effected nothing against the Asiatic sabres, and Russian despotism and conquest would have turned aside of necessity from the sterile and uninviting fields of Transatlantic and Australian settlement.

Contemporary with this great development of civilised energy, this awful heave of the human race, has arisen a new power communicated to man, calculated in an immeasurable manner to aid the extension of civilisation and religion through the desert or barbarous portions of the earth. At the moment when Napoleon's armies were approaching Moscow, when Wellington's legions were combating on the Tormes, STEAM NAVIGATION arose into existence, and a new power was let into human affairs, before which alike the forces of barbarism and the seclusion of the desert must yield. In January 1812, not one steam-boat existed in the world; in January 1813, the first one in Europe was launched on the Clyde;* now, on the rivers beyond the Alleghany mountains alone, there are five hundred. Even the death-bestriden gales of the Niger will in the end yield to the force of scientific enterprise, and the fountains of the Nile themselves emerge from the solemn obscurity of six thousand years. The great rivers of the world have now become the highways of improvement and religion. The Russian battalions will securely commit themselves to the waves of the Euphrates, and waft again to the plains of Shinar the blessings of regular government and a beneficent faith: ascending the St Lawrence and the Missouri, the British emigrants will carry into the solitudes of the Far West the

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1815.

117.
Simultaneous rise
of steam
navigation.

* The Comet, which began to ply in March 1813, between Glasgow and Greenock. The author early in that year made the voyage by that novel conveyance, then the object of wonder, distrust, and misrepresentation.

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1815.

Bible and the wonders of European civilisation. Such have been the final results of the second revolt of Lucifer the Prince of the Morning. Was a great and durable impression made on human affairs by the infidel race? No! It was overruled by Almighty Power: on either side it found the brazen walls which it could not pass. In defiance of all its efforts, the British navy and the Russian army rose invincible above its arms; the champions of Christianity in the East, and the leaders of religious freedom in the West, came forth like giants refreshed with wine from the termination of the fight. The infidel race, which aimed at the dominion of the world, served only by its efforts to augment the strength of its destined rulers; and from amidst the ruins of its power emerged the ark which was to carry the light of religion to the western, and the invincible host which was to spread the glad tidings of the gospel through the eastern world.¹

¹ Alison on
Population,
ii. 526, 527.

118.
General
conclusion.

Taking man, then, as reason equally with revelation tells us he is, variously compounded of great and noble, with base and selfish propensities, with a natural tendency to evil and yet an inherent desire, conspicuous in all elevated minds, to regain his original destiny, the system of the Divine administration is very apparent, and nowhere more conspicuous than in the history of Europe during the French Revolution. It clearly appears, that resting on this basis, assuming as its agents those mingled virtuous and vicious propensities, using the moving power of the active passions and desires of men, there is a system established for the moral government of the world. Provision is made both for the righteous retribution of nations and the general advancement of the species; and it is evident that, while signal wickedness or strenuous performance of duty seldom fail, even in this world, to work out their appropriate reward or punishment, the Great Architect of the universe overrules both to the ultimate good, at once of the individual, the nation, and

the species ; and builds up, alike from the wisdom and folly, the virtues and vices, the greatness and weakness of men, amidst the chastisement and reward, the elevation and destruction of nations, the mighty fabric of general and progressive improvement.

Distrusting all plans of social improvement which are not founded on individual reformation, recognising no hope for man but in the subjugation of the wicked propensities of the human heart, acknowledging the necessity of Divine assistance in that herculean task, the reflecting observer will not, even amidst the greatest evils arising from general iniquity, despair of the fortunes of the species. He will hope little from the wisdom of Man, but trust much in the goodness of God. He will recognise in the social conflicts which may again, as in times past, desolate the world, the perpetual warring of the ambition or folly of man against the wisdom and justice of his Creator. He will discover in the evils with which they are attended, the provision mercifully made for the extirpation of sin by an early experience of its effects ; he will observe that there is established, in the consequences of these iniquities, an unseen agency destined for their ultimate removal or punishment ; and acknowledge that, amidst the infinite maze of events, the only sure guide which can be followed is that which is founded on the eternal principles of Supreme Wisdom, human Corruption, spiritual Regeneration, and Christian Charity.

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119.
Moral and
religiousim-
provement
must be the
basis of all
other.

APPENDIX.

NOTE F, page 9.

WELLINGTON'S ARMY AT WATERLOO.

1. British and King's German Legion,

Infantry—viz. :	Effective men.
Officers,	1,077
Sergeants, &c.	1,189
Trumpeters, &c.	500
Rank and file,	17,895

20,661

Cavalry—viz. :

Officers,	521
Sergeants, &c.	641
Trumpeters, &c.	125
Rank and file,	7,448

8,735

Artillery, Engineers, &c.—viz. :

Officers,	291
Sergeants, &c.	231
Trumpeters, &c.	75
Rank and file,	6,280

6,877

General Summary—viz. :

English Infantry,	20,661
... Cavalry,	8,735
... Artillery and Engineers,	6,877

Total, 36,273

2. Hanoverians—viz. :

Infantry,	6,312
Cavalry, (Estorff's brigade,)	1,135

Total, 7,447

3. Brunswickers,

5,962

4. Belgians,

17,724

5. Nassau troops,

2,280

Total, 69,686

Summary.

British and King's German Legion,	36,273
Hanoverians,	7,447
Brunswickers,	5,962
Belgians,	17,724
Nassau troops,	2,280

Total, 69,686

—SIBORNE, i. 460, 461 ; and GURWOOD, xii. 487.

STRENGTH OF THE BRITISH ARMY ON THE MORNING OF THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO.

BRITISH AND KING'S GERMAN LEGION ONLY.

18TH JUNE 1815.

DIVISIONS.		BRIGADES.		REGIMENTS.		STATIONS.		OFFICERS.				TROOP QUARTER-MASTERS AND SERGEANTS.				TRUMPETERS OR DRUMMERS.				RANK AND FILE.													
								Field Officers.		Captains.		Subalterns.		Staff.		Present.		Sick.		Command.		Total.		Present.		Sick.		Command.		Prisoners of War and Missing.		Total Rank and File.	
Cavalry.	Artillery, Engineers, etc., <div><div>Royal Artillery Artillery, K. G. L. Royal Engineers — Sappers and Miners — Wagon Train — Staff Corps</div><div>Total Artillery,</div></div>	1st. Lord E. Somerset. 2d. Ponsonby. 3d. Dornberg. 4th. Vandeleur. 5th. Grant. 6th. Vivian. 7th. Arents- childt.	1st Life Guards — Royal Horse Guards 1st Dragon Guards — 2d. — 1st Lt. Drags, K. G. L. — 23d Light Dragons —																														

[illegible]

III. *Prussian troops under Blücher who took part in the Campaign.*

	Men.	Bat.	Esq.	Batrs.	Can.
The 1st corps d'armée under Gen. Ziethen,	34,800	34	32	12	96
2d under Gen. Kleist,	36,000	36	36	12	96
3d under Gen. Thielman,	33,000	33	32	12	96
4th under Gen. Bulow,	37,800	36	48	12	96
	141,600	139	148	48	384

IV. *Prussian force that advanced upon Waterloo, after deducting the loss at Ligny.*

	Men.	Bat.	Esq.	Batrs.	Can.
The 1st corps d'armée under Gen. Ziethen,	27,000	34	32	12	91
2d under Gen. Kleist,	29,000	36	36	12	91
4th under Gen. Bulow,	30,000	36	48	12	91
Total,	86,000	106	116	36	273
Deduct one-half of the second corps } which did not come into action, }	14,000	18	18	6	45
Total Prussian corps which advanced } to Waterloo, of whom about 40,000 } were actually under fire, . . }	72,000	88	98	30	228

—PLOTHO, iv. *Appendix*, pp. 36, 55.

V. *Force commanded by Napoleon and Ney at Ligny and Quatre Bras, on 16th March.*

At Ligny.	At Quatre Bras.
Infantry, 53,500	Infantry, 32,320
Cavalry, 12,730	Cavalry, 7,710
Artillery, 4,850	Artillery, 2,170
71,080	42,200
With 242 guns.	With 108 guns.

NOTE E, p. 8.

FRENCH FORCE WHICH FOUGHT AT WATERLOO, ACCORDING TO GOURGAUD.

	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Artillery. Men.	Guns.
1st Corps—D'Erlon.				
4 divisions of infantry, . . .	16,220	...	...	...
1 division cavalry, . . .	...	1,400	...	...
Artillery, . . .	...	...	900	46
3 divisions of infantry, . . .	12,640	...	...	...
2d Corps—Reille.				
1 division of cavalry, . . .	...	1,800	...	...
Artillery, . . .	...	...	710	38
Carry forward,	28,860	2,700	1,610	84

	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Artillery.	
			Men.	Guns.
3d Corps.				
1 division (Dumont) attached to 6th corps,	...	1,370	...	...
6th Corps—Lobau.				
2 divisions of infantry,	7,000	...	...	...
Artillery,	...	...	610	30
Imperial Guard.				
Young Guard (Duhesme,)	3,800	...	...	...
Middle Guard,	4,200	...	...	...
Old Guard,	4,400	...	...	...
Cavalry of reserve,	...	2,100	...	...
Cavalry (grenadiers and dragoons,)	...	2,000	...	...
Artillery,	...	...	1,920	96
Cuirassiers—Kellermann.				
2 divisions,	...	2,330	...	...
Artillery,	...	...	220	12
Cuirassiers—Milhaud.				
2 divisions,	...	2,530	...	...
Artillery,	...	...	210	12
Corps of Pajol.				
1 division (Subervich,)	...	1,130	...	...
Artillery,	...	...	110	6
	48,260	14,160	4,680	240
Men in line,		67,100		
Sappers, drivers, engineers, &c.		7,000		
Total,		74,100		
Cannon,		240		

Force under Marshal Grouchy at Wavre.

Infantry,	25,520
Cavalry,	4,870
Artillery,	1,830
Total,	32,220, with 110 guns.

General Abstract.

	Men.	Guns.
Army under Napoleon at Waterloo,	74,100	240
With Grouchy at Wavre,	32,220	110
Loss at Ligny,	6,800	
At Quatre Bras,	4,140	
Grand total,	117,260	350

—GOURGAUD, *Camp. de 1815, Tables*, pp. 150 and 71-72.

This is the statement given by Gourgaud; but there can be no doubt it is below the truth, as Ney's corps set down here (the first) as only 18,640 men, was stated by Ney himself, shortly after the battle, to have amounted to between 25,000 and 30,000. And as Gourgaud himself states the force with which Napoleon crossed the frontier at 122,464 men, it is evident that the force which fought at Waterloo must have been at least 80,000 men.—See NEY's *Letter to FOUCHÉ*, June 26, 1815.—Given in JONES' *Battle of Waterloo*, 262.

NOTE G, page 14.

ACCOUNT OF THE CHARGE OF THE HEAVY BRIGADE AT WATERLOO.

"Orders were now given that we were to prepare to charge. We gave our countrymen in front of us three hearty huzzas, and waving our swords aloft in the air, several swords were struck with balls while so doing; and I must not forget the piper—

‘The piper loud and louder blew,
The balls of all denominations quick and quicker flew.’

The Highlanders were then ordered to wheel back—I think by sections, but I am not certain: infantry words of command differ from the cavalry. When they had, and were wheeling back imperfectly, we rushed through them; at the same time they huzzaed us, calling out, ‘*Now, my boys—Scotland for ever!*’ I must own it had a thrilling effect upon me. I am certain numbers of them were knocked over by the horses: in our anxiety we could not help it. Some said, ‘I didna think ye wad hae saired me sae’—catching hold of our legs and stirrups, as we passed, to support themselves. When we got clear through the Highlanders, (92d,) we were now on the charge, and a short one it was. A cross-road being in our way, we leaped the first hedge gallantly; crossed the road, and had to leap over another hedge. At this time the smoke from the firing on both sides made it so thick that we could not see distinctly. We had not charged far—not many yards, till we came to a column. We were pretty well together as yet, although a great number fell about that cross-road. We were in the column in a very short time, (making pretty clean work.) We still pushed forward, at least as many as could—a number had dropped off by this time—and soon came to another column. They cried out, ‘Prisoners!’ and threw down their arms, and stripped themselves of their belts, (I think it is part of the French discipline to do so,) and ran to our rear. Ay, they ran like hares! We still pushed on, and came upon another column; and some of them went down on their knees, calling out ‘Quarter!’ in a very supplicatory way. The answer generally was, ‘Well, go to the rear, (pointing to our rear,) d—n ye!’ We now got amongst the guns, the terrible guns, which had annoyed us so much. *Such slaughtering!*—men cut down and run through, horses houghed, harness cut, and all rendered useless. Some who were judges of such work, reckoned we had made a very good job of it. Amongst the guns—I think six or seven in number, all brass—that I was engaged with, mostly all the men were cut down, and the horses, most of them, if not all, were houghed. While we were at work amongst these guns, never thinking but, when we were done with it, we would have nothing to do but to return from where we came; but I must own I was very much surprised when we began to retrace our steps, when, what should we behold coming away across betwixt us and our own army but a great number of these cuirassiers and lancers, the first I ever beheld in my life, who were forming up in order to cut off our retreat; but, nothing daunted, we faced them manfully. We had none to command us now, but every man did what he could. ‘Conquer or die!’ was the word. When the regiment returned from the charge mentioned, the troop that I belonged to did not muster above one or two sound men (unwounded) belonging to the front rank. Indeed the whole troop did not muster above a dozen; there were upwards of twenty of the front rank killed, and the others wounded.”—*MS. Account of the Battle, by MR JAMES ARMOUR, Rough-Rider to the Scots Greys.*

TABLE A, SHOWING FOR EVERY YEAR, FROM 1792 TO 1847,

THE Precious Metals annually raised and coined in the South American and Mexican Mines—the Bank-Notes of the Bank of England in Circulation—the Aggregate of Bank-Notes of Private Bankers—Total of Notes in Circulation—the Coin annually issued from the Mint—the Annual Price of Gold—the Commercial Paper under Discount at the Bank of England—the Exports, Official Value, and Exports, Declared Value—British and Irish Produce, Exports—Total Exports, Official Value—Imports, Official Value—Tonnage of Shipping—Revenue, Crime, and Population of the British Empire—Emigrants from the United Kingdom—Sums levied annually for Poor and County Rates in England and Wales—Amount of Poor-Rate in Quarters of Grain annually—Taxes Imposed, Net Amount—Taxes Repealed, Net Amount—National Debt in each Year—National Debt in each Year in Quarters of Wheat at annual Prices—Revenue Yearly in Quarters of Wheat at annual Prices—Money applied to the Redemption of the Debt—Price of Wheat the Quarter.—Compiled from Porter's Parliamentary Tables, Marshall's Parliamentary Tables, and other Parliamentary Sources.

Years.	Money annually raised and coined in South America.	Bank of England Notes and Bank Post Bills in circulation.	Aggregate of Private Bank Notes, England and Wales.	Total of Notes.	Gold and Silver Coin annually issued from the Mint.	Price of Gold in each Year, per Ounce.	Commercial paper under Discount at Bank of England.	Years.
	L.	L.	L.	L.	L.	L.	L.	
1792	5,264,672	11,307,380	No return.		1,171,863		1,179,641	1792
1793	6,391,471	11,388,919			2,747,439		1,842,781	1793
1794	5,262,391	10,444,020			2,558,895		2,146,671	1794
1795	5,861,342	14,017,510			493,416	4 4 0	2,946,500	1795
1796	6,752,591	10,729,520			464,680	..	3,505,000	1796
* 1797	5,891,611	11,114,120			2,600,297	3 17 6	5,350,000	1797
1798	6,762,311	13,095,830			2,967,565	3 17 10½	4,490,600	1798
1799	5,981,311	12,959,610			449,962	3 17 9	5,403,900	1799
1800	6,112,411	16,854,809			189,137	4 5 0	6,421,900	1800
1801	5,201,200	16,203,280			450,242	4 4 0	7,905,100	1801
1802	5,175,957	15,186,880			437,019	4 3 6	7,523,300	1802
1803	5,032,227	15,349,980			596,445	..	10,747,600	1803
1804	5,058,211	17,077,830			718,397	4 0 0	9,982,400	1804
1805	7,104,436	17,871,170			54,658	4 0 0	11,265,500	1805
1806	6,502,142	17,730,120			45,106	..	12,380,100	1806
1807	5,356,152	16,950,680			None.	..	13,484,600	1807
1808	6,169,038	19,183,860			371,714	..	12,950,100	1808
1809	6,997,853	18,542,860			298,946	4 10 0	15,475,700	1809
1810	5,870,972	21,019,609			316,938	..	20,070,600	1810
1811	4,718,584	23,360,220			312,263	4 17 6	14,355,400	1811
1812	3,619,352	23,480,320			None.	4 15 0	14,291,600	1812
1813	3,784,700	23,210,930			519,722	..	12,380,200	1813
1814	3,687,249	24,801,080	22,700,000	47,501,080	None.	5 8 0	13,285,800	1814
1815	3,104,565	27,261,650	19,011,000	46,272,650	None.	4 9 0	14,917,000	1815
1816	2,528,008	27,013,620	15,096,000	42,109,620	1,805,251	3 19 0	11,416,400	1816
1817	3,481,475	27,397,900	15,894,000	43,291,900	6,711,635	3 18 6	3,960,600	1817
1818	3,893,925	27,771,070	15,007,000	48,278,070	3,438,652	..	4,325,200	1818
† 1819	3,838,350	25,227,100	15,701,328	40,928,428	1,270,817	4 1 0	6,515,000	1819
1820	3,557,236	23,569,150	10,576,245	34,145,395	1,797,233	3 17 10½	3,883,600	1820
1821	2,887,487	22,471,450	8,256,180	30,727,630	9,954,444	3 17 10½	2,676,700	1821
1822	3,080,403	18,172,170	8,416,430	26,588,600	5,888,217	3 17 10½	3,366,700	1822
1823	2,638,267	18,176,470	9,920,074	27,396,544	1,045,020	3 17 6	3,123,800	1823
1824	2,567,426	19,929,800	12,831,352	32,761,152	4,347,145	3 17 6	2,369,800	1824
1825	2,250,829	26,069,130	14,980,168	41,049,298	4,998,454	3 17 9	4,941,500	1825
1826	2,327,861	24,955,040	8,656,101	33,611,141	6,505,067	3 17 6	4,908,300	1826
1827	2,894,007	21,508,550	9,985,300	31,493,850	2,545,656	3 17 6	1,240,400	1827
1828	2,923,006	22,174,780	10,121,476	32,296,256	1,024,547	3 17 6	1,167,400	1828
1829	2,354,803	20,264,300	8,130,137	28,394,437	2,555,014	3 17 6	2,250,700	1829
1830	2,589,879	20,468,060	7,841,396	28,501,456	2,388,032	3 17 9	919,900	1830
1831	837,343	19,050,880	7,914,216	26,965,096	621,645	3 17 10½	1,585,600	1831
1832	938,729	18,485,310	8,221,895	26,707,205	3,720,902	3 17 10½		1832
1833	3,587,736	17,531,910	10,152,104	27,684,014	1,225,414	3 17 9		1833
‡ 1834		19,195,000	10,152,000	29,347,000	499,724	3 17 9		1834
1835		18,085,000	10,659,000	28,744,000	256,505	3 17 9		1835
1836		18,018,000	11,134,000	29,152,000	2,285,501	3 17 9		1836
1837		18,887,000	12,012,196	30,899,196	1,329,112	3 17 9		1837
§ 1838	No return in these years.	19,488,000	10,225,488	29,713,488	3,056,432	3 17 9		1838
1839		15,317,010	12,259,467	27,576,477	794,295	3 17 9		1839
1840		15,797,000	10,833,244	26,630,244	216,414	3 17 6	No return.	1840
1841		16,397,450	10,251,450	26,648,900	474,640	3 17 9		1841
1842		18,290,790	10,311,211	28,602,001	6,269,888	3 17 9		1842
|| 1843		19,361,410	7,114,458	26,475,868	6,884,455	3 17 10½		1843
1844		20,796,295	7,487,145	28,283,440	4,190,619	3 17 10½		1844
1845		20,359,495	7,497,711	27,857,206	4,892,266	3 17 10½		1845
1846	..	20,971,265	7,234,141	28,205,406		3 17 10½		1846
¶ 1847		18,780,038	6,742,789	25,522,827	No return.	3 17 10½		1847

* Bank Restriction Act passed.

§ Year after Canadian Rebellion.

† Bank obliged to pay in gold at Mint price.

|| Income-tax imposed.

‡ New Poor-law.

¶ Irish famine.

Years.	Exports, Official Value, of Great Britain and Ireland.	Exports, Declared Value.	British and Irish Produce, Exports.	Total Exports, Official Value.	Imports, Official Value.	Shipping, Tons.	Years.
	L.	L.	L.	L.	L.	L.	
1792					19,659,358	1,068,302	1792
1793	16,231,672	27,361,142			19,459,357	719,968	1793
1794	16,467,491	28,169,112	No return.	No return.	22,294,893	1,879,580	1794
1795	17,267,311	29,671,200			23,736,889	1,231,461	1795
1796	17,900,041	30,236,671			23,187,309	1,384,311	1796
* 1797	18,321,111	31,042,121			21,613,956	1,426,592	1797
1798	18,556,891	31,252,836	8,760,196	27,327,017	25,122,203	1,632,112	1798
1799	22,284,941	35,903,851	7,271,696	29,556,637	24,066,700	1,746,221	1799
1800	22,831,936	36,929,007	11,549,681	32,381,617	28,257,781	1,905,438	1800
1801	24,501,608	39,730,659	10,336,966	34,031,574	30,435,268	2,725,949	1801
1802	25,195,893	45,102,230	12,677,431	38,873,324	28,308,373	2,147,629	1802
1803	20,467,531	36,127,781	8,032,643	28,499,174	25,104,541	2,167,863	1803
1804	22,687,309	37,135,746	8,938,741	31,616,050	26,454,281	2,268,570	1804
1805	23,376,941	37,234,396	7,643,120	31,020,061	27,344,720	2,283,442	1805
1806	25,861,879	39,746,581	7,717,555	33,579,434	25,501,478	2,263,714	1806
1807	23,391,214	36,349,443	7,624,312	31,015,536	23,326,845	2,281,621	1807
1808	24,611,215	36,306,385	5,776,775	30,387,990	25,660,953	2,324,819	1808
1809	33,542,274	46,049,777	12,750,358	46,292,632	30,170,292	2,368,468	1809
1810	34,061,901	47,000,926	9,357,435	43,419,336	37,613,294	2,429,044	1810
1811	22,684,400	30,850,618	6,117,720	28,801,120	25,240,704	2,474,774	1811
1812	29,508,508	39,854,526	9,533,065	39,042,273	24,923,922	2,278,799	1812
1813		Custom	Records	destroyed	by	fire.	1813
1814	34,207,253	43,447,373	19,365,981	53,573,234	32,622,771	2,616,965	1814
1815	42,875,996	49,653,245	15,748,554	58,624,550	31,822,053	2,601,276	1815
1816	35,717,070	40,328,940	13,480,781	49,197,851	26,374,921	2,648,593	1816
1817	40,111,427	40,349,235	10,292,684	50,404,111	29,910,502	2,664,986	1817
1818	42,700,521	45,180,150	10,859,817	53,560,338	35,845,340	2,674,466	1818
† 1819	33,534,176	34,252,251	9,904,813	42,438,989	29,681,640	2,666,398	1819
1820	38,395,625	35,569,077	10,555,912	48,965,537	31,515,222	2,648,593	1820
1821	40,831,744	35,823,127	10,629,689	51,461,423	29,769,122	2,560,203	1821
1822	44,236,533	36,176,897	9,227,589	53,464,122	29,432,376	2,519,044	1822
1823	43,804,372	30,589,410	8,603,904	52,408,276	34,591,260	2,506,760	1823
1824	48,735,551	37,600,021	10,204,785	58,940,336	36,056,551	2,559,587	1824
1825	47,166,020	38,077,330	9,169,494	56,335,514	42,660,954	2,553,682	1825
1826	40,965,785	30,847,528	10,076,286	51,042,071	36,174,350	2,635,644	1826
1827	52,219,280	36,394,817	9,830,728	62,050,008	43,489,346	2,614,515	1827
1828	52,797,455	36,150,379	9,946,545	62,744,002	43,536,187	2,793,429	1828
1829	56,213,041	35,212,873	10,622,402	66,835,443	42,311,609	2,860,515	1829
1830	61,140,864	38,271,597	8,550,437	69,691,301	46,245,241	3,196,782	1830
1831	60,683,933	37,184,372	10,745,071	71,429,004	49,713,889	2,880,492	1831
1832	65,926,702	36,450,594	11,044,869	76,971,571	44,586,741	3,002,875	1832
1833	69,939,389	39,667,347	9,833,753	79,773,142	45,952,551	3,149,152	1833
‡ 1834	73,831,550	41,649,191	11,562,036	85,393,686	49,362,811	3,149,168	1834
1835	78,376,731	47,372,270	12,797,724	91,074,455	48,911,512	3,325,211	1835
1836	85,229,837	53,368,572	12,391,711	97,621,548	57,023,867	3,566,697	1836
1837	72,548,047	42,070,744	13,233,622	85,781,669	54,737,301	3,583,965	1837
§ 1838	92,459,231	50,060,970	12,711,318	105,165,479	61,268,320	4,099,039	1838
1839	97,402,726	53,233,500	12,795,990	110,190,656	62,004,000	4,333,015	1839
1840	102,705,372	51,401,430	13,774,306	116,481,015	67,432,964	4,659,376	1840
1841	102,180,517	51,604,430	14,723,151	116,902,887	64,377,962	4,657,376	1841
1842	100,260,101	47,361,043	13,584,158	113,841,802	65,204,729	4,500,028	1842
1843	117,877,278	52,276,449	13,956,113	131,832,947	70,093,353	4,847,296	1843
1844	131,564,503	58,584,292	14,397,246	145,956,654	75,441,555	5,049,601	1844
1845	134,599,116	60,111,081	16,280,870	150,879,056	85,281,955	6,045,718	1845
1846	132,288,345	57,766,576	16,296,162	148,584,507	75,958,875	6,091,052	1846
¶ 1847	125,907,063	58,971,166	19,999,344	146,194,079	90,921,866	7,196,033	1847

* Bank Restriction Act passed.

§ Year after Canadian Rebellion.

† Bank obliged to pay in gold at Mint price.

|| Income-tax imposed.

‡ New Poor-law.

¶ Irish famine.

Years.	Population, Yearly, of Great Britain.	Commit- ments Annually in Eng- land and Wales.	Emigrants from the United Kingdom.	Sums levied for Poor and County Rates Annually in England and Wales.	Amount of Poor's Rate in Quarters of Wheat at Annual Prices.	Taxes Imposed. Net Amount.	Taxes Repealed. Net Amount.	Years.
				L.			L.	
1792	9,400,000							1792
1793	9,800,000							1793
1794	9,920,000							1794
1795	10,080,000							1795
1796	10,200,000					No return.		1796
* 1797	10,320,000							1797
1798	10,440,000							1798
1799	10,560,000							1799
1800	10,680,000							1800
1801	10,880,000			4,017,871	693,234	1,720,000		1801
1802	10,492,646					4,000,000		1802
1803	11,007,000			4,077,891	1,428,751	12,500,000		1803
1804	11,200,000					1,000,000		1804
1805	11,404,000	4,605				1,560,000		1805
1806	11,600,000	4,346				6,000,000		1806
1807	11,850,000	4,446				..		1807
1808	12,020,000	4,735				..		1808
1809	12,190,000	5,330				200,000		1809
1810	12,340,000	5,146				..		1810
1811	12,596,803	5,337		6,656,105	1,440,455	1,617,600		1811
1812	12,800,000	6,576				1,495,000		1812
1813	13,000,000	7,164				980,000		1813
1814	13,200,000	6,390		6,294,581	1,746,474	285,000	932,827	1814
1815	13,420,000	7,818		5,418,846	1,702,255	423,937	222,749	1815
1816	13,640,000	9,091		5,724,839	1,503,240	320,058	17,547,565	1816
1817	13,860,000	13,932		6,910,925	1,470,409	7,991	36,495	1817
1818	14,000,000	13,567		7,870,801	1,881,466	1,336	9,564	1818
† 1819	14,200,000	14,254		7,631,470	1,970,016	3,094,902	705,846	1819
1820	14,300,000	13,710	18,984	7,330,256	2,226,913	119,602	4,000	1820
1821	14,391,631	13,115	13,194	6,959,249	2,557,763	42,642	471,309	1821
1822	14,600,000	12,201	12,349	6,358,702	2,940,440	..	2,139,101	1822
1823	14,800,000	12,263	8,860	5,772,958	2,231,094	18,596	4,050,250	1823
1824	15,000,000	12,698	8,210	5,736,898	1,850,612	45,605	1,704,724	1824
1825	15,200,000	12,437	14,891	5,786,989	1,740,747	43,000	3,639,551	1825
1826	15,400,000	16,164	20,900	5,928,501	2,033,221	188,000	1,973,812	1826
1827	15,600,000	17,924	28,003	6,441,088	2,269,987	21,402	4,038	1827
1828	15,850,000	16,564	26,092	6,298,000	2,084,855	1,966	51,998	1828
1829	16,140,000	18,675	31,198	6,332,410	1,911,671	..	126,406	1829
1830	16,240,000	18,107	56,907	6,829,042	2,125,772	696,004	4,093,955	1830
1831	16,539,318	19,647	83,160	6,798,888	2,649,916	627,586	1,598,536	1831
1832	16,800,000	20,821	103,140	8,662,920	2,398,966	44,526	747,264	1832
1833	17,050,000	20,072	62,527	8,279,217	2,566,601	..	1,526,914	1833
‡ 1834	17,270,000	22,451	76,222	8,338,079	2,736,717	198,394	2,091,516	1834
1835	17,480,000	20,731	44,478	7,373,807	2,394,116	75	165,817	1835
1836	17,690,000	20,984	75,417	6,354,538	2,398,796	..	989,786	1836
1837	17,800,000	23,612	72,034	5,294,566	1,507,357	3,991	234	1837
§ 1838	18,000,000	23,094	33,222	5,186,389	1,788,410	100	289	1838
1839	18,200,000	24,451	62,207	5,613,939	1,651,153	1,733	63,258	1839
1840	18,410,000	27,187	90,743	6,014,605	1,822,607	2,155,673	18,959	1840
1842	18,600,000	27,670	118,592	6,351,828	2,348,825	..	27,176	1841
1843	18,830,000	31,309	128,344	6,552,800	2,840,347	..	1,596,366	1842
1844	19,200,000	29,591	57,212	7,085,595	3,015,147	5,529,989	..	1843
1844	19,440,000	26,542	70,686	7,066,797	3,093,608	..	..	1844
1845	19,600,000	24,303	93,501	6,791,006	2,663,145	23,720	4,535,561	1845
1846	19,850,000	25,107	129,851	6,844,241	2,488,870	..	..	1846
¶ 1847	20,100,000	28,893	258,461	6,986,480	1,996,131	..	..	1847

* Bank Restriction Act passed.

† Bank obliged to pay in gold at Mint price.

‡ New Poor-law.

§ Year after Canadian Rebellion.

|| Income-tax imposed.

¶ Irish famine.

Years.	National Debt in each Year.	Revenue Yearly.	National Debt in each Year in Quarters of Wheat at Annual Prices.	Revenue Yearly in Quarters of Wheat at Annual Prices.	Money applied Yearly to the Redemption of Debt.	Average Price of Wheat, Winch. Qr. over the Year.	Years.
	L.	L.			L.	s. d.	
1792	231,537,865	19,258,814	98,526,751	8,195,240	1,558,504	47 1	1792
1793	229,614,446	19,845,705	93,720,182	8,100,287	1,634,972	49 6	1793
1794	234,034,718	20,193,074	86,679,525	7,478,916	1,872,957	54 0	1794
1795	247,877,237	19,833,520	61,204,256	4,897,165	2,143,697	81 6	1795
1796	301,861,306	21,454,728	75,462,826	5,363,682	2,639,956	80 3	1796
* 1797	355,323,774	23,126,940	114,620,572	7,460,303	3,393,214	62 0	1797
1798	414,936,334	31,035,363	153,680,123	11,494,579	4,093,164	54 0	1798
1799	423,367,547	35,602,444	112,898,012	8,493,985	4,528,568	75 8	1799
1800	447,147,164	34,145,584	70,416,876	5,378,123	4,908,379	127 0	1800
1801	447,043,489	34,113,146	69,850,545	5,330,179	5,528,315	128 6	1801
1802	522,231,786	36,368,149	155,890,085	10,856,163	6,114,033	67 3	1802
1803	528,260,642	38,609,392	176,086,880	12,869,797	6,494,694	60 0	1803
1804	545,803,318	46,176,492	158,203,889	13,384,490	6,436,929	69 6	1804
1805	573,529,932	50,847,706	197,768,942	17,533,691	9,406,865	88 0	1805
1806	593,694,287	55,796,086	134,930,519	12,680,928	9,602,658	88 0	1806
1807	601,733,073	59,339,321	154,290,531	15,215,210	10,125,419	78 2	1807
1808	604,287,474	62,998,191	142,185,288	13,646,633	10,681,579	85 3	1808
1809	614,789,091	63,719,400	115,997,943	12,022,509	11,359,691	106 0	1809
1810	624,301,396	67,144,542	111,482,927	11,990,096	12,095,977	112 0	1810
1811	635,583,448	65,173,545	117,700,638	12,069,175	13,073,577	108 0	1811
1812	661,409,958	65,037,850	112,103,383	11,023,364	14,098,842	118 0	1812
1813	704,023,535	68,748,363	123,837,255	11,458,060	16,064,057	120 0	1813
1814	752,857,236	71,134,503	177,142,879	16,737,530	14,830,957	85 0	1814
1815	816,311,940	72,210,512	214,818,931	19,055,398	14,241,397	76 0	1815
1816	796,200,196	62,264,546	194,195,170	15,188,913	13,945,117	82 0	1816
1817	776,742,403	52,055,913	133,921,104	8,975,157	14,514,457	116 0	1817
1818	791,867,314	53,747,795	161,605,574	10,968,937	15,339,483	98 0	1818
† 1819	794,980,480	52,648,847	203,841,148	13,499,704	16,305,590	78 0	1819
1820	801,565,310	54,282,958	210,938,239	14,284,988	17,499,773	76 0	1820
1821	795,312,767	55,834,192	224,031,765	15,727,941	17,219,957	71 0	1821
1822	796,530,144	55,663,650	300,577,413	21,005,150	18,889,319	53 0	1822
1823	791,701,612	57,972,999	277,790,039	20,341,403	7,482,325	57 0	1823
1824	781,123,222	59,362,403	216,978,672	16,489,586	10,625,059	72 0	1824
1825	778,128,265	57,273,869	185,268,634	13,636,635	6,093,475	84 0	1825
1826	783,801,739	54,894,989	214,740,202	12,710,955	5,621,231	73 0	1826
1827	777,476,890	54,932,518	310,990,756	21,973,007	5,704,766	50 0	1827
1828	772,322,540	55,187,142	217,555,645	15,545,673	4,667,965	71 8	1828
1829	771,251,932	50,786,602	280,455,248	18,467,855	2,559,485	55 4	1829
1830	757,486,997	56,056,616	236,714,686	17,517,692	4,545,465	64 10	1830
1831	754,100,549	46,424,446	260,034,672	16,008,429	1,663,093	58 3	1831
1832	751,658,883	46,988,755	289,099,570	18,072,598	5,696	52 6	1832
1833	743,675,229	46,271,326	316,457,544	19,279,719	1,023,751	47 10	1833
‡ 1834	751,658,883	46,425,263	375,829,441	23,807,827	1,776,378	39 8	1834
1835	743,675,299	45,893,369	424,957,313	26,221,925	1,270,050	35 3	1835
1836	758,549,866	48,591,180	261,568,919	16,755,580	1,590,727	57 9	1836
1837	761,422,570	50,592,653	298,597,086	19,840,256	None.	51 3	1837
§ 1838	762,275,188	51,278,928	262,860,409	17,854,802	None.	57 11	1838
1839	761,347,690	52,058,349	223,925,791	15,311,279	Deficiency from 1837 to 1842 of L. 12,000,000	68 7	1839
1840	766,541,680	51,693,510	235,858,978	15,907,233		65 8	1840
1841	766,371,725	52,315,433	283,841,379	19,376,086		54 6	1841
1842	774,319,913	51,120,040	336,660,831	22,226,104		49 0	1842
1843	773,068,340	56,935,022	328,865,251	24,227,668		47 4	1843
1844	771,069,858	52,913,028	335,247,764	23,005,664		46 8	1844
1845	766,672,822	52,009,324	300,656,008	20,395,813		50 10	1845
1846	764,608,284	54,473,762	283,188,253	20,175,467		54 8	1846
¶ 1847	777,603,818	52,082,757	222,172,519	14,880,787	2,956,683	69 9	1847

* Bank Restriction Act passed.

† Bank obliged to pay in gold at Mint price.

‡ New Poor-law.

§ Year after Canadian Rebellion.

|| Income-tax imposed.

¶ Irish famine.

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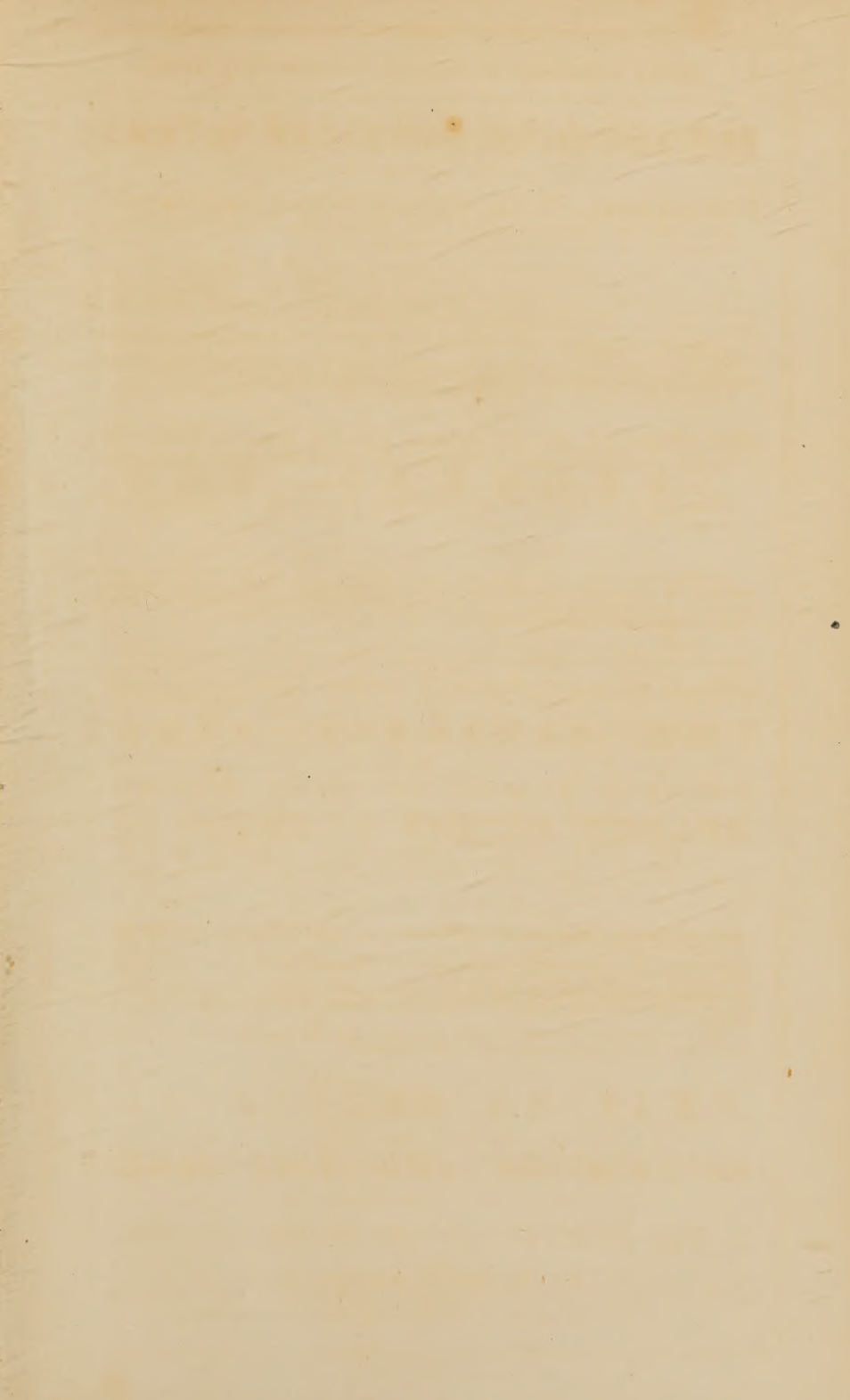
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